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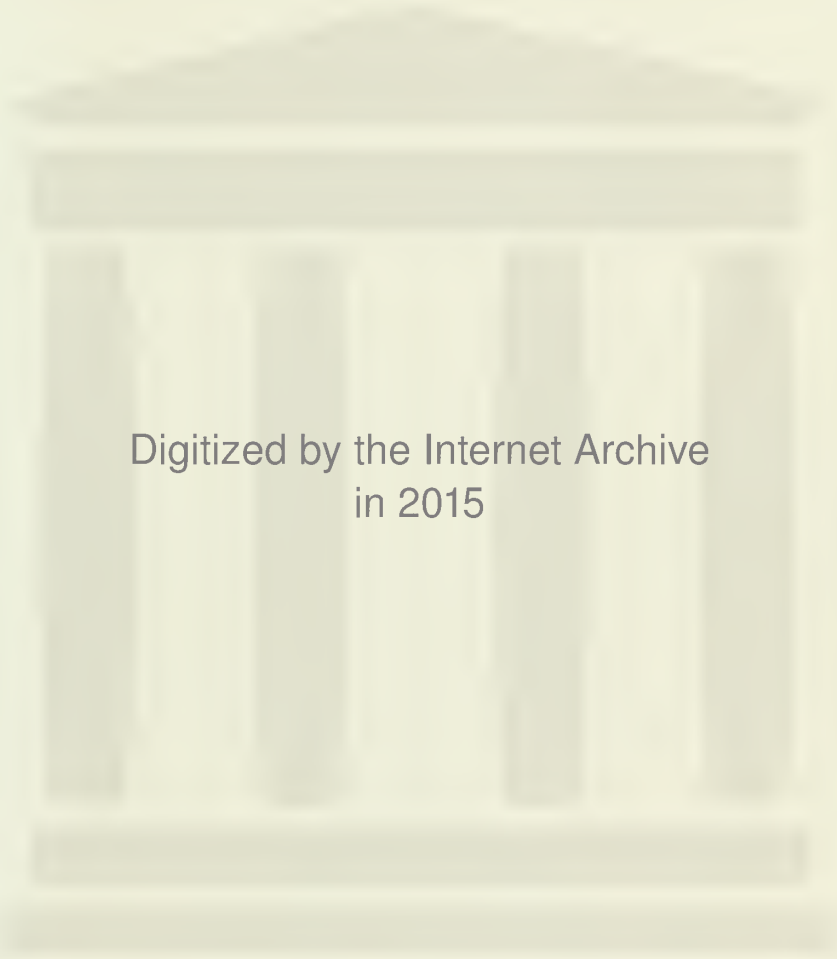
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OBSERVATIONS

UPON THE

POEMS

OF

THOMAS ROWLEY:

IN WHICH

THE AUTHENTICITY OF THOSE POEMS IS ASCERTAINED.

By JACOB BRYANT, Esq.

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THE PREFACE.

I Little imagined, when I undertook the preſent work, that it would be carried to the length, to which I ſee it extended. This to me is matter of ſome concern; as the ſubject, from its nature, may appear to many very tedious, and unentertaining. It was my original purpoſe not to engage in the external evidence, with which I have ſince found the hiſtory of the Poems to be amply ſupported; but to reſt my proofs intirely upon the internal. The encouragement of ſome very excellent friends, joined to their kind importunities, led me at laſt to engage in this new inveſtigation. Induced by the lights, which they held out to me, I applied at the fountain head; and obtained my intelligence from thoſe, through whom only it could be ſatisfactorily derived. This was from the mother, the ſiſter, and the principal friends and acquaintance of the young man, through whoſe hands the Poems have been tranſmitted to us.

The great point in view has been, to prove the originality and antiquity of the Poems in queſtion. The evidence in their favour is manifold; and if I am not greatly deceived, affords many convincing proofs of their genuine antiquity: alſo of the

perſon, by whom they were compoſed. I flatter myſelf, that this evidence will appear equally convincing to the Reader. It was my intention to have given an Hiſtorical Gloſſary to many of the moſt uncommon and obſolete terms; and I had carried it on to no ſmall amount: but the extent of my work would not permit me to compleat my purpoſe. Indeed it would have been in a manner unneceſſary: as this omiſſion on my ſide, and, I truſt, many others, will be made up to the Public by a more able hand.

ERRATA. PART FIRST.

Page	46, l. 17,	*for* ſhemrynge	*read* drierie
	50, *Notes*,	— Wigoniens	— Wigorniens.
	51, l. 9,	— hunc	— hanc
	62, l. 9,	— they twine	— he twines
	74, l. 2,	— 945	— 345
	114, l. 8,	— ſhould find	— thou'lt find
	117, l. 7,	— Wharton	— Warton; *paſſim*
	123, l. 20,	— Guillialm Neubrigeus	— Guillielm Neubrigens
	124, l. 12,	— run	— ran
	131, l. 14,	— others	— other
	190, l. 21,	— interca	— interea
	194, l. 24,	— Celdmonde	— Celmonde
	202, l. 10,	— ſebillam	— Sebillam
	203, *Note*,	— Leland, *dele.*	
	205, l. 5,	*after* Glouceſterſhire, —	*add* and of Somerſetſhire.
	209, l. 3,	*for* Brompton	*read* Bromton
	219, l. 17,	— Aldan	— Aidan
	224, *Notes*,	— Polychratico	— Polycratico
	231, l. 6,	— Harrold's	— Harold's
	233, l. 1,	— dicti: ſunt	— dicti ſunt:
	238, l. 19,	— Noſtlâ	— Noſtla
	239, *Notes*,	— Notlely	— Notely
	241, l. 2,	— Dearmarch	— Dearmach
	247, l. 16,	— in, *dele.*	
	270, l. 19,	— Joyous	— Joying
	271, l. 15,	— ſecendus	— ſecundus
	280, l. 24,	— Ceſauriens	— Caſauriens.
	289, l. 14,	— Lhoyd	— Lhuyd
	299, l. 1,	— Abbat	— Abbot
	300, l. ult.	— St. Clement's Danes, *dele.*	

INTRODUCTION.

ONE of the firſt poſitions, which I muſt lay down, is, that theſe poems were written in a provincial dialect: according to the idiom of the people, in whoſe county the author reſided, and was probably born. It is indeed my opinion, that moſt of thoſe, who wrote at a diſtance from the capital, copied more or leſs the peculiarities of the province, to which they originally belonged. Caxton was the moſt copious writer of his time: and he lived in the very age of Rowley: and he ſays expreſly, that he wrote the language of his country: which was the weald of Kent. His peculiarities, he ſays, were ſo glaring, that he was often times cenſured upon that head, and particularly by the ducheſs of Burgundy, the king's ſiſter. Of this

he takes notice in his preface to the Siege of Troy: a book, which he both tranſlated, and printed abroad.—*On a tyme it fortuned, that the ryght excellent and right vertuous prynces, my right redoubted ladye, (ſiſter unto my ſoveraign Lord, the King of Englond and Fraunce) my Lady Mergaret by the grace of God, ducheſſe of Burgoine,* &c. &c.—*ſent for me to ſpeke with her good grace of dyverſe maters: among the which I let her highneſs have knowledge of the foreſaid beginninge of this worke: which anon commanded me to ſhew of the ſayd v or vi quayers to her ſaid grace. And when ſhe had ſeen hem, anon ſhe found a defaute in myne Englyſhe, which ſhe commanded me to amend.—In Fraunce was I never; and was borne and lerned myne Engliſhe in Kent in the weald: were I doubt not is ſpoken as brode and rude Engliſhe, as in any place of England**. Hiſtory of Troy by Caxton. He

* Copied from Ames, in his Hiſtory of Printing, p. 2, 3. For the orthography I cannot anſwer, as I had not an opportunity of applying to the original. It may not be quite exact; but the purport of the paſſage is the ſame.

ſpeaks

ſpeaks to the ſame purpoſe in a preface to another treatiſe †. *Fayn wolde I ſatysſye every man: and ſo to doo toke an olde boke and redde therin: and certaynly the Englyſshe was ſo rude and brood, that I coude not wele underſtande it. And alſo my lorde abbot of Weſtmynſter ded do ſhewe to me late certayn evydences wryton in olde englyſshe for to reduce it in to our englyſshe now uſid: and certaynly it was wreton in ſuch wyſe, that it was more lyke to dutche than englyſshe. I coude not reduce ne brynge it to be underſtonden. And certaynly our langage now uſed varyeth from that which was uſed and ſpoken, whan I was borne. For we englyſshe men ben borne under the domynacyon of the mone, whiche is never ſtedfaſte, but ever waverynge: wexynge one ſeaſon and waneth and dyſcreaſeth another ſeaſon. And that comyn englyſshe, that is ſpoken in one ſhyre, varyeth from another.——loo, what ſholde a man in thyſe dayes now wryte?—certaynly it is hard to playſe every man, becauſe of dyverſite and chaunge*

† Taken from the preface of *a boke intytuled Eneydos*, tranſlated from the French; and printed by W. Caxton, anno 1490.

of langage. For in theſe dayes every man, that is in ony reputacyon in his countre, wyll utter his commynycacyon, and maters in ſuch maners and termes, that few men ſhall underſtonde theym. And ſom honeſt and grete clerkes have ben wyth me, and deſired me to wryte the moſte curyous termes, that I coude fynde: and thus betwene playn, rude and curyous I ſtande abaſshed. Preface to the boke intytuled Eneydos: printed by Caxton, anno 1490. In theſe extracts we have a clear account of the dialects of thoſe times; and of the variety of terms, that prevailed in the days of Caxton, which were preciſely the days of Rowley.

The like peculiarities, of which the writer above makes mention, are to be found ſtill earlier in the author of Pierce Plowman. He has a great number of words, which appear to have been peculiar to the county, where he firſt drew his breath. Many in after times, who did not entirely devote themſelves to the manner of ſpeech of their province; yet did not totally depart from it: and continually introduced words not in common

uſe.

uſe. This is apparent from Spencer, eſpecially in his Shepherd's Calendar. Indeed the whole of his diction is more ancient than the times in which he lived. What are we to think of the *ſtithy*, the *molewarp*; and the *weird ſiſters* in Shakeſpear? Theſe, and many others, which might be produced, were not words in general uſe; and can only be found in the dialects, which he copied. The tranſlation of the Æneïs by Gawin Douglas, the learned biſhop of Dunkeld, is intirely provincial: and contains in it the nobleſt and moſt curious remains of the ancient Saxon language. And as much of the ſame is to be found in the poems attributed to Rowley; there is no book, that can be applied to, preferable to this, in order to authenticate thoſe writings, either in reſpect to orthography or ſtile.

Writers who have treated of this iſland, take notice not only of three languages eſſentially different; but alſo of three particular dialects, which ſeem to have prevailed in South Britain from the firſt ſettling here of the Saxons. We have a cu-

rious account of this circumſtance afforded us by the learned monk Treviſa: who wrote about the year 1365; and ſpeaks in the following manner: *As it is knowen, how many maner of peple ben in this ilond, there ben alſo many langages and tongues:* (by which he means Engliſh, Scotch, Welch, and the Flemiſh in Wales.) *Alſo Englyſshe men they had fro the begynnynge thre maner ſpeches; ſoutherne, northerne, and myddel ſpeche in the myddel of the londe: as thie come of thre maner of people in Germania. * * * Hit ſemeth a grete wonder, that Englyſſmen have ſo grede dyverſyte in theyre owne langage in ſowne and in ſpekynge of it, whiche is al in one ylond.* He adds afterwards, that theſe dialects did through intercourſe in ſome degree aſſimilate, and became reciprocally more intelligible. *For men of the eſte with the men of the weſt acorde better in ſownynge of theyr ſpeche, than men of the northe with men of the ſouth. Therefor it is, that men of Mercij, that ben of myddel Englond, as it were partyners with the endes, underſtand better the ſide langages, northern, and ſouthern, than northern &*

ſouthern

*ſouthern underſtand eyther other. Alle the langages of the Northumbres, and ſpecially at York, is ſo ſharp, ſlytynge, frotynge, and unſhape, that we ſotherne men may unneth underſtand that * langage.* He had before taken notice, that the Saxon language in all its parts had been altered: and this we may be aſſured was moſt obſervable near the metropolis. *In many thynges the countrye langage is appayred: ffor ſomme uſe ſtraunge wlaffyng, chyterynge, harrynge, garrynge, and griſbytynge.* It may be difficult after ſo long an interval to aſcertain what the variations were, which are intimated by theſe terms. Thus much is certain, that changes were continually introduced. But there was a variation ſtill prior; an original variation. We have a further confirmation of this from the author of the Saxon Chronicle. He takes notice that the Saxons, who came into Britain, were of three different parts of Germany, and not of the ſame family; ða com þa menn oꝼ ðꝼum mæʒðum Leꝼmanıe, oꝼ

* Higden's Polychronicon, printed by Caxton, 1482. L. 1. C. 59. p. 68.

Ealð-Seaxum: oþ Anglum: oþ Jotum. p. 12. He afterwards ſpecifies in what part of the kingdom each diviſion ſettled. Hence proceeded that original difference in ſpeech, which is mentioned by Treviſa. We may therefore be aſſured, that the Saxon tongue in this iſland was never uniformly the ſame. It commenced with a difference of dialect; which has ever more or leſs prevailed. And thoſe who wrote at a diſtance from the capital, followed the idiom of the province, to which they belonged.

Before the art of printing became of general uſe, it is ſcarcely poſſible to conceive, but that people muſt have written in dialects: for they had no ſtandard, by which they could be regulated; and if there had exiſted any thing of this nature in any particular place, it could not have been univerſally kept up, for want of that intercourſe and correſpondence, which are ſo eſſential to its influence and authority. The language of the metropolis is generally looked up to as the principal, by which all others are to be directed. For

it

it is eſteemed the true ſtandard, though it is as much a dialect, as any other; and oftentimes more novel and heterogeneous. To this however our mode of ſpeech, and of writing, is for the moſt part made ſubſervient. But in the times, of which we are ſpeaking, the capital was comparatively ſmall; and had not that great reſort, which we find it to have at this day. All intercourſe was attended with difficulties, which are now unknown; and correſpondence by theſe means was rendered very rare. Hence they had no univerſal canon, by which they could be governed; nor any external helps, to which they could apply. The Bible, as ſoon as there was a verſion made of it, came in time to be univerſally read; and has certainly conduced both to the improvement and ſtability of language. But in thoſe times no ſuch aſſiſtance could be obtained. Printed books there were none; and manuſcripts were very ſcarce, and thoſe from different parts, and of different ages. The court and capital had undoubtedly a great influence over the people, who were in any degree

gree near them; conſequently thoſe who were at the extremities of the iſland, were the moſt rude and barbarous in their diction: not but that which we eſteem in them barbarous and rude, was nothing more than their retaining a number of ancient terms, attended with a peculiarity of pronunciation, which might be as original as the terms themſelves. As Rowley was of Somerſetſhire, it may be worth while to lay before the reader an account given of the dialects there uſed, as we find it afforded us by a learned perſon in his Logonomia Anglica. At inter omnes dialectos nulla cum occidentali æquam ſapit barbariem: et maxime ſi ruſticos audias in agro Somerſettenſi. Dubitare enim quis facile poſſit, utrum Anglicè loquantur, an peregrinum aliquod idioma. Quædam enim *antiquata* etiamnum retinent; ut *ſax* pro cultro: *nem* aut *nim*, accipe. Quædam ſua pro Anglicis vocabulis obtrudunt; ut *lax* pro parte: *toit* pro ſedili: et alia. Sed et legitima corrumpunt, quædam uſu; quædam pronunciatione. Logonomia Ang. ab Alex. Gil. c. vi. p. 18.

There are vaſt collections of ancient poems preſerved in the public repoſitories of this kingdom; many of which, from the ſpecimens exhibited, may be perceived to be ſtrongly tinctured with a peculiarity of idiom. There are moreover two poets in particular, whoſe works have been publiſhed to the world, which ſeem manifeſtly to be written in a provincial dialect. In conſequence of this they are obſerved to abound with words, which are either uncommon; or differently expreſſed; or elſe are taken in a different acceptation from that, in which they are admitted by people of other counties. The firſt of theſe is the author of the two poems called the Viſions, and the Crede, of Pierce Plowman, of whom I have made mention before. He is ſaid to have been named Robert Langland; and to have been born at Cleyberie, towards the lower part of Shropſhire, at no great diſtance from the Malverne hills. He is ſuppoſed to have written about the year 1350, in the reign of king Edward the Third. The other poet is Robert of Glouceſter, who

wrote

wrote in the reign of Edward the Firſt; and compoſed a chronicle of Engliſh hiſtory from the moſt early times. His language is very broad and coarſe: and his poem abounds with many obſolete words, and with others, which though not uncommon, yet are differently modified: and the whole ſavours ſtrongly of the county, of which he appears to have been a native. Such are the words—abbe, *have*. adrencte, *drowned*. bray, *break*. bode, *bad*. bivel, *befell*. brogt, *brought*. fow, *foes*. fowe, *few*. chere, *high*. beſowt, *beſought*. hure, *bear*. hupe, *hope*. hexte, *higheſt*. lafte, *lefte*. meuth, *month*. row, *rough*. dawe, *day*. prou, *proof*. lowe, *laugh*. thog, *thought*. couwe, *cold*. drou, *drew*. reigh, *right*. ſipes, *ſhips*. ſtel, *ſtole*. ſoſtren, *ſiſters*. vair, *fair*. velde, *felled*. vane, *fain*. vareth, *fareth*. vorſt, *froſt*. verbere, *forbear*. vyſs, *fiſh*. woke, *week*. werſe, *worſe*. wolde, *wild*. tueie, *two*. vife, *five*. werſte, *firſt*. zonge, *young*. zate, *yet*. zelde, *yield*. Other terms might be eaſily added to a great amount. But it may appear more ſtrongly, if we produce ſome quotations

at

at full length. A villain, who has killed king Edmund, comes to Canute the Dane with the bloody knife, and tells him what he has done in his favour. He then adds:

Thervore underſtond the wel, and geld
my mede blyve:
Vor ych abbe ydo the more gode, than
alle the men alyve. P. 311. l. 19.

i. e.

Therefore conſider thee well, and yield
my reward forthwith,
For I have done thee more good, than all
the men alive.

The king anſwers him very ironically in theſe words:

Thou ſeyſt ſoth, quath the king; thou
aſt muche ydo vor me.
An ychylle wel thy mede geld by the
treuthe ych ou to the.
Ychylle make the heymon, by tyme
ychabbe ythogte,
That thou ne ssalt vor thy lyflod nevere
carye nogt.

 i. e. Thou

i. e.

Thou ſay'ſt ſooth, quoth the king, thou
haſt much done for me,
And I ſhall well thy meed yield, by the
truth I owe thee.
I ſhall make thee a high man, by time I
have thought,
That thou ſhalt not for thy livelihood
never care nought.

He ordered him to be privately thrown into the Thames, and drowned.

There is a manuſcript, to whoſe authority I ſhall ſometimes have recourſe; which belongs to the library of King's College in Cambridge. It ſeems to be written in the provincial dialect of one of the weſtern counties, and is in many reſpects ſimilar to that of Pierce Plowman. The ſubject of the peom is the hiſtory of William, a royal foundling, and of werwolf, by whom he was preſerved. By a werwolf is meant a wizard wolf, the λυκανθρωπος of the ancients: which was ſuppoſed to have been a wolf ſo changed from a man: and to be gifted with human intellect.

The

The whole is a tranſlation from a romance poem in French: for which we are indebted to Humfrey Bohun earl of Hereford, who was nephew to king Edward the Second, as we are informed in the poem. In the firſt part of the work are ſome lines, which afford intelligence to this purpoſe.

ze, that loven & lyken to liſten ani more,
alle wyth on hole hert to the hey king of hevene
preieth a pater noſter prively this time
for the hend erl of herford ſir humfray de bowne,
the king edwardes newe at glouceter that ligges
for he of frenſche this fayte tale ferſt dede tranſlate
in eſe of englyſhmen in englyſch ſpeche
and god graunt him his blis that godly ſo prayen. Fol. 3.

The poem concludes with an addreſs to the ſame purpoſe.

ze that liken in love swiche thinges to here
preyeth for that god lord, that gart this do make

the

the hende erl of hereford humfray de
bowne
the gode kınge edwardes dowter was hıs
dere moder
he let make thıs mater ın thıs maner
ſpeche
for hem that knowe no frenſche ne ne-
ver underſto
bıddeth that blısful barn that bowt us
on the rode
and to hıs moder marıe of mercy that ıs
welle
and ıf the lord god lıf he ın erth
lenges
and whan he wendes of thıs world welthe
with oute ende
to lenge ın that lıkıng ıoye that leſteth
ever more
and god gıf alle god grace that gladlı ſo
bıddes
and pertlı ın paradıs a place for to have.
Amen.

The perſon above mentioned is ſaid to have been nephew of King Edward; which Edward was the ſecond of that name. His ſiſter Elizabeth married Henry Earl of Holland

Holland and Lord of Freezland: but becoming ſoon a widow, ſhe married Humphry Bohun Earl of Hereford, the father of the perſon, concerning whom we are treating: who by theſe means was grandſon to Edward the Firſt, and nephew to Edward of Carnarvon. As the Princeſs his mother was married in 1286, it is probable that he was born towards the latter end of that centnry: and this work may have been tranſlated towards the middle of the next. It ſavours ſtrongly of a provincial dialect: which may appear ſtrange. For though this perſon was Earl of Hereford, yet it does not follow, that he ſhould adopt the language of that province: nor is it credible, that a principal perſon at the King's Court, of ſo great eminence as an Engliſh Earl, ſhould give into the rude ſpeech of any county. But I do not apprehend, that this perſon was the immediate writer of this poem; though he was the firſt tranſlator of the romance. And this I think is plain from the evidence before obtained. For towards the beginning of the work, before

the writer has got to the ſeventh page, he deſires us to pray for the hend Earl of Hereford, Humphrey Bohun, who then lay buried at Glouceſter. At the ſame time he ſpeaks of him as the firſt tranſlator of this little hiſtory from French into Engliſh. And towards the end of the book he makes an apology for himſelf, and for the metre.

but thowh the metur be nowt mad at
eche mannes path
wite him nowt that it wrowt he wold
have do beter
zif is witte in eny weyes wold him have
ſerved.

When he afterwards ſpeaks of Humfray Bohun, he ſtiles him again—the hend earl of Herford, that gart this work do make, i. e. *who * got this work done:* and he ſays to the ſame purpoſe, he let make this mater in this maner ſpeche, i. e. *he per-*

* To gare, to make, or cauſe. Ray's North Country Dialects, p. 32. Hence gart, *made* or *cauſed*. God, who *gart* me. ibid. Gart, cauſed, made. See Gloſſ. to Robert of Glouceſter.

mitted

mitted and directed this matter to be carried on in this manner of ſpeech: alluding, I imagine, both to the language, and to the verſification. From hence it ſeems to appear, that though the earl of Hereford had been the firſt tranſlator, yet he was not the verſifier, by whom the poem was made as we now have it: for this was not perfected, till after his death. He was then *ligging at Glouſeter*. That this poem was compoſed in a provincial dialect is, I think, plain from the peculiarity of ſtile; and from the variety of words, which are different, or elſe differently rendered, from thoſe, which were in common uſe. Of theſe I will lay before the reader ſome examples. arnd, *around*. al one, *alone* and *only*. azein, *again*. azene, *againſt*. aleggit, *alayeth*. aunteteres, *anceſtors*. bretages, *bridges*. dawes, *days*. to dawe, *to dawn*. chirche, *church*. eni, *uncle*. fort, *for to*. fode, *feed*. greece, *graſs*. guy, *guide*. gif, and zif, *give*. gof, *if*. heo and hoo, *who*. hatches, *pains* and *aches*. ich, *I*. ich, *each*. mow, *may*. leve, *loved*. leve, *life*. leved, *believed*. kud, *good*. kinne, *can*. kin, *kine*

or *cattle*. kever, *cure*. leuth, *loſt*. lawt, *took hold*. haldes, *holds*. meſt, *moſt*. mai, *maid*. maid, *madam*. pult, *put*. onwar, *any where*. ſikand, *ſighing*. eft, *often*. nowth, *not*. nowthe, *now*. remewed, *removed*. ſore, *ſorrow*. ſarre, *ſore*. tom, *time*. on ſwowe, *in a ſwoon*. welt, *held*. dedus, *deeds*. hidus, *hides* or *ſkins*. za, *yea*. zis, *yes*. warder, *further*. zond, *yonder*. zow, *you*. zour, *your*. zeld, *yield*. zere, *a year*. zhe and ſche, *ſhe*. zit, zet, and zut, *yet*. wol, *will*. aſthis, *aſhes*. fouche, *vouch*. ferche, *freſh*. knowlacheden, *acknowledged*. boggeſlyche, *boyiſhly*, or *like a boy*. warniſhed, *furniſhed*. To theſe I muſt beg leave to add ſome other words, many of which are ſtill more uncommon: and ſome not elſewhere to be found. Among theſe may be reckoned the terms — comſed, dolven, rowt, warched, ſewed, buſked, dawed, bruttened, kevered, drouked, dronked. Such alſo are ſad, for *fixed* and *determinate*: blive, zare, lel, lelly, alderferſt: to darken, to lork, to zeme, to ſouche, to attele, to munge, to loute, to ſtytle, to fond: tit, titly, hetterly, witerly,

terly, gemlych, preſtilyche, pertilyche, deliverly, lutherly, gamlych, kevily, zepli, ſelcouthly, ſpackly, zerne, ſamen, ferly: add to theſe, a forcer, a feyntiſe, a debate, dureſſe, barret, bobance, ſpeldes, komchaunce, feute, feuter. We muſt not in this place omit peculiarity of expreſſion, ſuch as, talliche hire attired. thei ſtint of hire wlouke mirthe. ſatheli aſchaped. manli ſche melled hire. neſt and no neege. thei henden hard hem to help. Then ferde thei alle forth 1 fere fayn of here * lives. The number of terms for a man or

* The ſureſt way to afford a juſt idea of this poem, and its dialect, is to produce ſome whole lines.

Ak nowthe ze that arn hende haldes ow ſtille.

i. e.

And now ye, that are friendly hold you quiet. p. 2.

Leve ſon, this leſſon me lerde mi fader. p. 5, 6.
They layked there at lyking al the long day. p. 15.
For zour feyful fader nath zou nowt for zete. p. 74.
Than Aleſandrine at arſt than antreſſe hem tille. p. 15.

I ſai a ſelcouthe ſyt mi ſelf ziſter neve. p. 32. b.

i. e.

I ſaw an uncommon ſight myſelf yeſterday in the evening.

or a perſon is remarkable: theſe are—burn, gome, fre, frike, ſeg, lud, kud, wye, wyeth, rink, and kemp: but the laſt is only applicable to a ſoldier.

From theſe peculiarities, I am induced to ſuppoſe, that this poem was written in a provincial ſtile. And from comparing it with other writings, I judge it to be one of the weſtern dialects of this king-

Sche wept and wailed as ſche wold have ſtorve.
p. 22. b.

A Lady who was to be married to a Prince of Greece, refuſes her conſent, and ſays—

——— were ſche never ſo nobul
Of Emprours or Kings,——& come into grece,
Sche chold ſone be bi ſchet here ſelve al one. p. 30. b.

i. e.

However noble the Lady might be, ſhe ſhould ſoon be ſhut up all alone by her ſelf, and be condemned to perpetual confinement.

Let no ſeg myt have to ſle our gode beſt,
Nere his wit & his werk we were ſhent bothe. p. 41.

i. e.

Let no man have power to ſlay our kind beaſt,
Ne were (nere) *that is, were it not for, his art & his aſſiſtance we ſhould be both ruined.*

dom;

dom; and moſt probably of Hereford, or Glouceſter.

That the diction of Rowley was in like manner provincial, may, I think, be ſeen from the numberleſs peculiarities, with which it abounds. It appeared ſo to me upon my firſt looking into theſe poems: and I am ſince confirmed in my opinion from a more intimate acquaintance with them. Inſtances to this purpoſe are very obvious: and I will accordingly lay ſome examples before the reader. Such is bete for *bid*: bowk for *bulk*: caled for *cold*: ſwote for *ſweet*: ſtote for *ſtout*: gre for *grew*: drock for *drink*: mokie for *murky*: jintle for *gentle*: ſtring for *ſtrong*: ſeck for *ſuck*: roin for *ruin*: ſheen for *ſhine*: loaſt for *loſt*: cheorte for *chear'd*: ying for *young*: eletten for *enlighten*: mees for *meads*: ſleeter for *ſlaughter*: rou for *rough*: nete for *nothing*: feer for *fire*: aſtend for *aſtound*: gorne for *garden*: breed for *broad*: check for *choak*: ake for *oak*: ne for *nigh*: mieſel for *myſelf*: ethie for *eaſy*: roder for *rider*: rayn for *ran*: yanne for *then*:

alleyne for *alone:* tore for *torch:* quanſed for *quenched:* tynge for *tongue:* ſwoltering for *ſwallowing:* anere for *another:* meynt for *many:* ſel for *ſelf:* drented for *drayned:* blent for *blinded:* ſtrev for *ſtrive:* ſtraught for *ſtretched:* pais'd for *poiſed:* ſteers for *ſtairs:* widder for *whither:* peed for *pied:* dreynted for *drowned.*

Nor is it only a variation in the mode of expreſſion, which we meet with in this author; there are numbers of entire words in every page, which have been for a long time obſolete. Some of theſe were probably never in general uſe: but confined to particular provinces. Such is the term ſlughorne, ſwarthe, geaſon, chieve, weer, coiſtril, anlace, brand, pheer, ſchap: to which others might be added. The tranſcriber has given ſome notes; in order to explain words of this nature. But he is oftentimes very unfortunate in his ſolutions. He miſtakes the ſenſe groſsly: and the words have often far more force and ſignificance, than he is aware of. This could not have been the caſe, if he had

had been the author. His blunders would not have turned out to his advantage: nor could there have been more ſenſe in the lines, than in the head, which conceived them. In ſhort, chance could never have ſo contrived, that the poetry ſhould be better than the purpoſe.

Many of the terms uſed by Rowley may be authenticated from the county dialects, which prevail at this day. Many may be found in books of etymology; and particularly in ancient writings of thoſe early times: in writings, which are too abſtruſe and remote, to have been ever entitled to the knowledge of Chatterton. Above all others, they are to be found in the verſion of Gawin Douglas: which, I think, it may be proved, that Chatterton could never have read. Indeed we may be morally certain, that he never heard of it.

Beſides theſe terms, which, though obſolete, are native; there are others, which are foreign, being partly borrowed, and partly framed, from other languages. Theſe languages are the French and Italian;

lian; together with the Latin and Greek: with none of which we may preſume, that Chatterton was at all acquainted. The writers of the times in queſtion * affected a ſhew of learning, and they often coined new words; and adopted others, by way of enriching their compoſition. This is particularly obſervable in the writers of romance: whoſe works in thoſe days were in high requeſt, and much read. It is therefore not to be wondered at, if in Rowley's poems there ſhould be expreſſions of this nature; which were not in general acceptation. Among theſe we may eſteem crine for hair: likewiſe inutile, fructile, lethale, protoſlain, fructuous, ardurous, magiſtrie, dexter, digne, diviniſtre, dolce, gottes (from guttæ, *tears*) owndes, diſpone, difficile, ſcond, volunde, cleem from *clamo*, ynhyme from *inhumare*, affined, ewbrice from ὑβρις, ſuperhallie, croched, uncted, zabalus, and the like. To theſe add words borrowed from

* Of this affectation ſee the learned Eſſay upon the Engliſh language, by Mr. Tyrwhitt, in his excellent edition of Chaucer, vol. iv. p. 26, 42, 43.

the

the French: abaſſie, deſclavate from eſclavage, delievretie, eſtels for eſtoils, receivure, renombe, entendement, damoiſelle, entremed, dureſſed, battoné, bordelier, coupe, chapournette, couraciers, percaſe, paramente, vernage, perſant, ribaude, blanch. From theſe and other circumſtances we may be aſſured, that theſe poems were written in the Anglo-Norman ſtile: the ſame, of which the learned Hickes in his Theſaurus treats at large. And without any previous knowledge of the real author, we might be certain, that he was a man of learning; and well acquainted with ſeveral languages.

Theſe few examples out of many I lay before the reader, to whom at every turn of the book more will preſent themſelves, ſhould he chooſe to make farther inquiry. I never heard it ſurmiſed, that Chatterton was in the leaſt acquainted with the French language: much leſs with the Latin and Greek. Whence then was it poſſible for him to have made ſuch an exotic collection? Many of theſe words he in a manner confeſſes, that he did not underſtand, by his

his not attempting to give any explanation. How then could he poſſibly have inſerted them? others he did attempt to interpret, but often failed in the ſolution.

It ſhall now be my buſineſs to give ſome examples of thoſe miſtakes, which appear in the tranſcript of this young man; and of that ignorance, which he ſometimes betrays, in his notes. But before I proceed to this, it will be proper to ſtate ſome few poſtulata, which, I think, cannot in reaſon be denied me; and which are neceſſary to be premiſed.

I lay it down for a fixed principle, that if a perſon tranſmits to me a learned and excellent compoſition, and does not underſtand the context, he cannot be the author.

I lay it down for a certainty, if a perſon in any ſuch compoſition has in tranſcribing varied any of the terms through ignorance, and the true reading appears from the context, that he cannot have been the author. If, as the ancient Vicar is ſaid to have done, in reſpect to a portion of the goſpel, he for *ſumpſimus* reads uniformly

mumpſimus,

mumpſimus, he never compoſed the treatiſe, in which he is ſo groſsly miſtaken. If a perſon in his notes upon a poem miſtakes Liber, Bacchus, for liber a book; and when he meets with liber a book, he interprets it, liber, free: he certainly did not compoſe the poem, where thoſe terms occur. He had not parts, nor learning to effect it. In ſhort, every writer muſt know his own meaning: and if any perſon by his gloſſary, or any other explanation, ſhews, that he could not arrive at ſuch meaning, he affords convincing proof, that the original was by another hand. This ignorance will be found in Chatterton: and many miſtakes in conſequence of it be ſeen: of which miſtakes and ignorance I will lay before the reader many examples. When theſe have been aſcertained, let the reader judge whether this unexperienced, and unlettered, boy could have been the author of the poems in queſtion.

A LIST

A LIST

OF SOME PARTICULAR TERMS

Which are authenticated and explained.

SLughorne Grange	Aluſt To the ourt array.
Borne	Drawen
Oares	Logges
Bollengers	Bordels
Cottes	Go do
Barks	Bie thanks
Knopped	Blent
Deyſde	Cuyen
Groffing	Coyen
Abounde	Applynges
Abrodden	Blynn
Byſmare	Fraye
Cleare	Amenges
Dyght	Amenged
Victualle	Almer
Honde-poinct	Bretful
Aledge	Cheriſaunce
Onlyght	Biſtoikerre

Amenuſed	Adventayle
Amanaſed	Borne and Brun
Corven	Dolè
Breme	Keppened
Thee and Theie	Poyntelle
An Omiſſion	Alyſed
Betraſſed	Amenuſed
Burlie	Adente
Brond	After la goure.

SLUGHORNE.

THIS word occurs more than once: and it is interpreted by Chatterton in one place *a muſical inſtrument not unlike a hautboy*. In another it is ſaid to be *a kind of clarion*. But a clarion and an hautboy are very unlike, being diſtinct inſtruments. It occurs in the ſecond eclogue, p. 6, v. 9.

The water ſlughornes wythe a ſwotie cleme.

Alſo p. 30. v. 31.

Methynckes I heare the ſlughornes dynn fromm farre.

Sounde, ſounde the ſlughornes.

p. 40. v. 150.

A leegefull challenge, lette the ſluggh-horne ſounde. p. 35. v. 90.

It is plain, that Chatterton only formed a judgment from the context: and knew nothing preciſely about this inſtrument.

In the firſt place, it was certainly an horn; ſuch as the Danes, Saxons, and other Gothic nations uſed in war: and the name ſignifies as much: for by ſlug and ſlag is denoted *ſlaughter* and *battle*. Slag—prælium, ſtrages. Olai Verelij Lexicon Sueo-Gothic. Hence came ſlogan, ſlægan, ſlagan, of the Saxons: which all ſignify to ſlay. A ſlughorne is properly Buccina Bellica, from the word before mentioned, ſlag, prælium. It is to be found in the verſion of the Æneis by Gawin Douglas, l. 7. p. 230. l. 36.

The draucht trumpet blawis the brag of were,
The ſlughorne, encenze, or the watch cry
Went for the battle.

The whole is a paraphraſe of the line in Virgil:

Claſſica jamque ſonant; it bello teſſera ſignum.

The author of the gloſſary derives it from the A. S. ſlege, clades: and ſlegan, interficere: and very truly interprets it—Cornu Bellicum. Olaus Wormius has written

written a curious treatiſe upon an ancient horn of this ſort.

GRANGE.

A ſheepſter or farmer is ſpeaking of his poſſeſſions: and among other things mentions his grange.

Mie Parker's grange, far ſpreedynge to the ſyghte. p. 3. v. 35.

And it is interpreted by *liberty of paſture given to the Parker*. But it is nothing like it. A Grange was properly *a granage*, granagium; where the grain of monaſteries, and of wealthy perſons, was at the harveſt brought. It was an incloſed piece of ground, ſecured on all ſides by a wall or pale, within which were barns, ſtables, and * outhouſes. A granary was a

* Grange, a Fr. G. *Grange*, granarium. Horreum. q. d. Granium vel granicum. Skinner. It is ſtiled Grangia by Sumner, who gives a better account of it. Grangia. Gall. et Angl. Grange. — He then quotes from Lindwood, Dicuntur (inquit) grangiæ, non ſolum, ubi reponuntur grana, ut ſunt horrea, ſed etiam ubi ſunt ſtabula pro equis; hoſtaria ſive præſepia pro bobus et aliis animalibus, &c.

building in the grange; where the grain, when it had been thraſhed out, was carried, and locked up. It is called in the paſſage above—*Mie Parker's Grange*. But a grange had nothing to do with a park: nor could a ſheepſter, by which is meant a farmer, have either a park, or parker: by which laſt is ſignified a keeper to preſerve * deer. A perſon in ſuch an office belonged only to princes and great men. Hence I conceive, that we have here another miſtake: which takes its riſe from an error in tranſcribing. I am ſenſible, that many incloſures for other purpoſes are ſometimes ſtiled parks: eſpecially in North Britain. But in the ſouth, the term is more particularly limited: and where a parker is mentioned, it is confined to a place for deer. Hence by Lye and other etymologiſts, it is very truly defined to be—ſeptum vivarium. But as I ſaid before, a ſheepſter or farmer, could not have any thing of this nature. The perſon introduced has been ſpeaking of his

* Parker—a park-keeper. Kerſey.

flocks

flocks and herds; of his meadows and orchards; and then adds *mie Parkers grange*. This, I am perſuaded, is a miſtake of the tranſcriber; and the original reading was *mie parklich*; or as we expreſs it now, *parklike grange*: which the perſon deſcribes in this manner, on account of its extent; and of its being ſecured, and fenced round, like a park.

Mie parklich grange far ſpreedynge to
the ſyghte.

The grange of the farmer was in extent equal to the park of a nobleman.

Chatterton, I make no doubt, had ſometimes recourſe to Skinner and to Kerſey, in order to obtain the meaning of the ancient terms, which he found in Rowley. But he does not ſeem to have had an opportunity of applying uniformly: otherwiſe he would have known from thoſe writers, that a * grange was a repoſitory for corn. Granarium, horreum; q. d. granium vel granicum: omnia a latino

* Grange (F) a building, that has granaries, barns, ſtables, &c.—Kerſey's Eng. Dictionary.

granum, &c. prædium ruſticum †. Skinner. Had he once caſt his eye upon this obvious paſſage, he would never have idly interpreted the term by—*liberty of paſture given to the Parker*. And indeed, had he been the author of the poem, he could never have been ſo ignorant. He certainly imagined that the term *grange* was equivalent to *range*; and hence was led to think it was a liberty granted to ſome perſon, whom he has denominated a *parker*. But what has a keeper of a park to do with paſtures? The whole is a boyiſh miſtake.

B O R N E.

The author of the *Tragycal Enterlude* is deſcribing the morning of that day, when Ælla obtained the ſignal victory over the Dacians or Danes. Among other things, he mentions the rays of light ſhining upon the borne; which by the tran-

† The author of the gloſſary to Gawin Douglas mentions this word. Grange—corne grangis, granaries. —F. Grange. Lat. Barb. grangium. a Lat. granum.

ſcriber

ſcriber is interpreted—*burniſh*. As the deſcription is remarkably fine, I will preſent the reader with the whole; as he will from the context more readily perceive the true meaning of this term.

Bryghte ſonne han ynne hys roddie robes byn dyghte
From the rodde eaſte he flytted wythe hys trayne:
The Howers drew awaie the geete of nyghte,
Her ſable tapiſtrie was rente yn twayne.
The dauncynge ſtreakes bedecked heavennes playne,
And on the dewe dyd ſmyle wythe ſhem rynge eie,
Lyche gottes of blodde, whyche doe blacke armoure ſteyne,
Sheenynge upon the *borne*, whych ſtondeth bie.
The ſouldyers ſtoode uponne the hillis ſyde;
Lyche yonge enlefed trees, whyche yn a forreſte byde. Ælla, v. 734.

The tranſcriber not knowing the mean-

ing of the term borne; looked into Skinner, and found *Borne pro burniſh:* and accordingly interpreted *the borne, whych ſtondeth bie,* by the *burniſh, whiche ſtondeth bie.* He was probably ſtill further led to this notion by the word armour being mentioned in the preceding line. That *borne* may ſignify burniſh, we grant: but not here: for how can it be with the leaſt propriety ſaid, that the *burniſh* of armour *ſtands by?* The purport of the term is totally miſtaken. There are two words in our language; which I believe are ſometimes ſpelled alike. Theſe are bourne and borne. The firſt ſignifies a ſmall * ſtream or rivulet: from which many places, ſuch as Winborn, Winterborn, Otterborn, Sittenborn, have been denominated. The other, is from the French word, *borne* and *bornè*; and denotes any extremity, limit, or boundary. It is uſed in this ſenſe by Shakeſpeare: and we find Hamlet ſpeaking of

* I was weary of wandering & went me to reſt,
Under a brode bank by a *bourne* ſide.
Pierce Plowman, p. 1.

That

That undiſcovered country, from whoſe
borne
No traveller returns.—

By this is meant—from whoſe *limit*, and *boundary*, no traveller comes back. It is alſo uſed for the extreme part or ridge of a hill: and for a hill it * ſelf. Hence a perſon in the Comus of Milton ſays—

I know each lane, and every alley green,
Dingle, or buſhy dell of this wild wood;
And every boſky *bourn* from ſide to ſide.

Every *boſky bourn*, ſignifies *every woody hill*, or *ridge* of a hill. *Boſky bourn* is here oppoſed by the poet to *buſhy dell* in the foregoing line. This is the true meaning of the paſſage in Rowley. He mentions the riſing ſun, ſhining upon the *borne*; that is, upon the upper and *extreme part*, or *ridge*, of that hill, which was near the army. The ſoldiers were lower down.

* In the ſame writer, a perſon, ſpeaking of Dover cliff, ſays,

From the dire ſummit of this chalky bourne
Look up a height. LEAR.

The

The ſouldyers ſtoode uppon the hillis ſyde.

It is uſed in the ſame ſenſe in the ſecond battle of Haſtings: where there is a noble deſcription of a mountain convulſed by an earthquake.

Now here, now there, majeſtic nods the bourne. p. 247. v. 208.

The word *bourne* is here introduced in its true ſenſe; and perfectly analogous in application to the ſame word mentioned before. This is what in the notes is interpreted *burniſh*, though it in reality ſignifies the higheſt *range*, and *extremity* of an hill. I have ſometimes thought that the latter part of the deſcription was not right: and that what is expreſſed—*ſtondeth bie*, was originally—*ſtondeth hie*. There ſeems likewiſe to be another palpable miſtake, where mention is made of the *dauncynge ſtreakes*, which *bedecked heavens playn*. The poet had before deſcribed the ſolemn advance of *day*: and had mentioned, that

the hours drew away the * *geete, i. e.* the *robe* or *veil,* of night, and adds,

Her ſable tapeſtrie was rente yn twayne.

Then comes—

The *dauncynge* ſtreakes bedecked heavennes playne.

But what is there, that has the leaſt appearance of dancing in the approach of the morning; which comes on gently, and by imperceptible degrees?

The true reading was *daunynge*—

The daunynge ſtreakes bedecked heavennes playn,
And on the dew dyd ſmile wythe ſhemrynge eie,
Lych gottes of blodde, whyche doe blacke armoure ſteyne,
Sheenynge upon the borne, whych ſtondeth hie.

* Sometimes expreſſed *gite.*—Gite, a gown. Kerſey.

And ſhe came after in a *gite* of red.

Chaucer, v. 3952.

OARES.

The gule depeyncted *oares* from the
black tyde,
Decorn wyth fonnes rare, doe ſhem-
rynge ryſe. Ecl. 2. v. 13.

As no notice is taken by the tranſcriber concerning the purport of this term, we may preſume, that he thought it related to an oar, that implement, by which boats are rowed. But this, I have reaſon to think, is by no means the true meaning. The objects here deſcribed are ſaid to riſe, and to be *decorn wyth fonnes rare*. Now oars may indeed be painted: but I ſhould think never with any rare deſigns. * Fonne is the ſame as the Saxon ꝑan; and

* Concerning this word I ſhall ſpeak more particularly hereafter: for I cannot engage to give the meaning of every obſolete term, as I proceed, as it would be an hindrance to my preſent purpoſe. Hereafter I ſhall collect ſome of the moſt ancient and uncommon words; and bring authority for their uſage; and at the ſame time explain their true purport. However,

and ſignifies any curious device: but particularly vexillum, a ſtandard or enſign. This cannot be ſuppoſed to relate to oars in the common acceptation: nor can they well be deſcribed—as *upſwelling in dreary pride*. In ſhort, the oares, here ſpoken of, were the ſame, which we now ſtile wherries; a kind of boats and pinnaces; made to attend upon ſhips. The name is very ancient; and by the Romans was expreſſed Horia: from whence came the word, mentioned above, *wherry*. It has at times been given to boats of not quite the ſame make; nor adapted to the ſame uſe: yet the ſimilarity of name is manifeſt. Horia dicitur navicula piſcatoria. Nonius Marcellus.——Salute horiæ, quæ me in mari fluctuoſo—compotivit. Plautus Rud. Act. 4, 2, 5. Meâ operâ laboratur et rate et horiâ. Ibid. 4, 3, 81. From hence we find, that it was always eſteemed a ſmaller kind of veſſel: and it is by the poet ſet off

However, not a few will neceſſarily be taken notice of, as I go on: but theſe will be chiefly ſuch as ſerve to my preſent purpoſe of diſcovering thoſe miſtakes, which have proceeded from the tranſcriber.

with

with ſtreamers, and with the enſigns and devices of the troops, which were about to land. It was ſometimes expreſſed Oria. Malo hunc alligari ad oriam, ut ſemper piſcetur, etſi ſit tempeſtas maxima. Plautus in Caciſto. Aulus Gellius mentions, among other names of veſſels, Celetes, Lembi, Oriæ. L. x. Ch. 25. From the laſt came the *oares* above: which we now expreſs *wherries*. In Rowley they ſignify barges, which were painted red; and as they approached within view of the enemy on the ſhore, they ſeemed to riſe by degrees from the ocean; and from the reflection of the ſun upon their rich ornaments are compared to ſtars.

Upſwalynge doe heie ſhewe ynne ſhemrynge pryde,
Lych gore-red † eſtells in the evemerk ſkyes.

* * * * * *

Alonge from bark to bark the bryghte ſheene flyes. v. 15, 19.

† From the French etoile, expreſſed formerly eſtoile.

BOLLEN-

BOLLENGERS and COTTES.

The *Bollengers* and *Cottes* ſo ſwyfte yn fyghte.
Upon the ſydes of everych *bark* appear.
Eclog. ii. v. 33.

The firſt of theſe is the name of a very uncommon veſſel: concerning which however ſufficient evidence may be obtained. Ships are ſometimes denominated from the places, where they are built: or to which they particularly relate: as an Hamburger, Lubecker, Groenlander, and the like. Du Cange mentions Brabant-garij, ſhips of Brabant: whence ſome have thought, that the Bollengers might have been ſhips of Boulogne. But this certainly was not the caſe. It is to be obſerved, that there was formerly a ſort of ſhip, called a balaner; which the ſame author calls balanerius; and of which he gives the following deſcription. Balanerius navigij majoris genus. He then quotes a paſſage ex Archivis Maſſiliens: where

where theſe ſhips are mentioned in company with ſome others. Ipſorum naves, Balanerios, Galateas, Barchias, Caravellos. I am led to think, that this Balaner, the Balanerius of Du Cange, is the veſſel alluded to by the poet; and by corruption rendered Bollenger. It is undoubtedly the ſame, which is mentioned by Gawin Douglas, and expreſſed Ballyngare. It occurs in the beginning of the ſixth book of the Æneis.—Sic fatur lacrymans, &c.

Thus wepand ſaid & let his flote at large,
Quhil at the bayth † Ballyngare and barge,
* * * * * *
Arrivit near the ciete of Cuma.

COTTES.

What is here ſtiled a Cotte, is the ſame as is called a Catt: which ſeems to have been a name of great antiquity. The

† Ballyngare, a kind of ſhip. Gloſſ. ibid.

Grecians

Grecians had a veſſel, called Cetus, Catus, and Cetene; which is ſaid to have been ſo denominated from Cetus a whale. This name prevailed among many nations. There are veſſels at this day, which are common upon the northern part of the Engliſh coaſt, and called Catts. Part of the harbour at Plymouth is called Catt-water: undoubtedly from ſhips of this denomination, which were once common in thoſe parts. That there was ſuch a kind of veſſel as a Catt, and well known, we may farther learn from Du Cange. He mentions the name with all its variations, with which it has been at times expreſſed. It was called Cata, Catta, Cota, Cattus, Gattus, Gatus: concerning all which we find the following account. Cata, navis. * Cota, navigij ſpecies. Gata, navis. Gatus, navis ſpecies. The author having mentioned—Gata, navis: alſo Cattus, and Catta, quotes a paſſage from Wilhelmus Heda, which affords farther light concerning the nature of this veſſel. Immergitur ingens

* The name of the veſſel called a Cutter, is probably a variation from the Latin Cota.

navis in flumine Hemâ ad impediendum introitum Trajectinorum, quam Cattam nominabant. He quotes in another place to the ſame purpoſe — Cattus, qui pergebat Dyrrachio, perijt in pelago. He mentions again — Gentilium navis, quæ dicitur Cattus.

As the Catt was probably named from Cetus, and Catus a whale: ſo the ſhip Bolenger may have been denominated from Balæna, another name for the ſame fiſh. There was a veſſel called a * Crab, ſo named from the Latin * carabus, analogous to the names above.

BARKS.

The poet introduces the Bark as ſuperiour both to the Bollenger and Cotte: which ſeems to be extraordinary; and contrary to the idea, with which it is ge-

* Iſidorus. L. 19. C. 1. Uſſer de Eccleſ. Britan. primord. p. 606. Tres Scotici viri carabum intrantes ſine velo, &c. Florent. Wigoniens. ad annum 892.

nerally attended. On this account it may not be improper to define it. According to * Iſidorus, by a bark is ſignified a boat or pinnace, which during a voyage was carried in the ſhip, but upon coming into port was hoiſted out, for the conveyance both of men, and merchandiſe, to be landed. Barca eſt, quæ cuncta navis commercia ad littus portat.——Hunc navis in pelago propter nimias undas ſuo ſuſcipit gremio: ubi autem appropinquaverit portui, reddit vicem barca navi, quam accepit in pelago. It is by Paulinus ſtiled ſcapham ſequacem, from its being often tied to the ſtern of the ſhip, when it ſails. See Du Cange. Skinner mentions—barca, *bark*, a Fr. barque: cymba, linter. Barca, Italicum, lembus.—Barga, navicula, ſcapha oneraria; alijs barca et barcas: Græco-barb. Ϛαρκα. Spelman.

From the above one might be led to think, that things have been ſtrangely inverted: that the larger veſſels have been diminiſhed to boats; and the boats raiſed

* Iſidorus. L. 19. C. I.

to ſhips. We find, that the Bolengers and Cotts are deſcribed as lying by the ſides of the barks, which ſeems contrary to all uſage: for the ſmaller veſſel is always repreſented as attending upon the larger, and lying beſide it. Thus much ſatisfaction is however gained, that we find ſufficient authority for the terms introduced, and that ſuch veſſels really exiſted. And in reſpect to the difficulty, and the ſeeming inverſion of order, it muſt be conſidered, that ſhips and veſſels of the ſame name at different times, and in different places, vary greatly. In the ſame country what is a barge at one place, has very little conformity with the veſſel of the ſame name in another. A bark in its general acceptation is little better than a ſkiff or boat: and ſo we have ſeen it defined by ſeveral authors. Yet there are undoubtedly paſſages in writers, where it is deſcribed, as a veſſel of burden. Du Cange, in a quotation introduced above, mentions Barks in conjunction with Carvels — Galateas, Barchias et Caravellos: which laſt were Spaniſh and Portugueſe veſſels,

veſſels, and the largeſt, that were ſent to ſea. He quotes likewiſe a paſſage from Ugotius; where the bark is ſpoken of as a ſhip of * burden. Barca navis mercatorum, quæ merces exportat. Hence in the Saxon gloſſary of Ælfric we find it ſtiled ꝑlot-ꝛcip; by which is ſignified *a ſhip of the ſea.* It was certainly uſed in the ſame acceptation by writers far later; as may be ſeen from the accounts of ſome of our greateſt navigators, Drake, Cavendiſh, and others. That it was uſed for a veſſel of the ſea, may be alſo known from the very terms *to embark*, and *diſembark:* which are only applied to ſhips.

The ſame will appear from the celebrated paſſage in Shakeſpear, where he introduces a perſon, who gives an account of Dover cliff.

† The fiſhermen, that walk upon the beach,

* A hoy by Kerſey is ſaid to be a ſmall bark. Therefore barks in general muſt be larger than hoys.

† Lear.

Appear like mice: and that tall anchoring ‡ *bark*
Diminiſh'd to her cock: her cock a buoy,
Almoſt too ſmall for ſight.

I had once my ſcruples about the paſſage in Rowley: and I therefore began with ſtating in full force, what may be brought in objection to it. But I am now perſuaded, that there is nothing amiſs in the text; and that the barks were tranſports, in which the army of King Richard was carried over. And though I do not think with the tranſcriber, that the bollengers and cotts were a kind of boats; yet I imagine that they were a ſort of galliots and tenders, which waited upon the larger veſſels. We muſt not be too pre-

‡ Even the term boat is ſometimes uſed for a ſhip, and it is not uncommon to ſay of a man of war that ſhe is a good ſea *boat*. This ſeems to have obtained of old: for when Toſto in the time of Harold landed in the Humber, and many of the ſhipmen deſerted him, it is ſaid in the Saxon Chronicle, ⁊ pa Butſecaꞃleꞅ hine ꝼoꞃ-ꝼocan. *i. e. and the boatſcarles him forſook.* p. 172.

ciſely

ciſely determined by the primitive meaning of their names: but conſider in what acceptation they were held at the time ſpoken of, and by the people, among whom they are found. The bollenger is mentioned by Kerſey, who expreſſes it Bullenger; and ſpeaks of it as a ſort of ſmall ſea veſſel or boat. This affords ſufficient authority for the term: though I imagine, as I have before ſaid, that it was rather a kind of tender or galliot. But this is of little moment. The poet has all along been deſcribing the proceſs of the Chriſtian navy through the Levant ſeas, and their approach to the Holy Land; when they come near enough to diſembark, he mentions the * tranſports ad-

* The terms for the veſſels, which were employed in theſe expeditions to the Holy Land, are in Rob. of Brunne—*Buſſes* and *Gallais*. p. 149. l. 24. p. 158.

Dight us thider ward our buſſes and galais.
p. 149. l. 24.

A grete buſſe and gay, fulle hie of ſaile was he.
p. 169. l. 16.

In bargeis and galeis he ſet mylnes to go,
The ſailes, as men ſais, ſom were blak and blo.
Som were rede and grene. p. 173. l. 27.

vancing with their barges and tenders by their ſide, and the knights and ſoldiers leaping into them, in order to get as ſoon as poſſible to land. Then comes the paſſage in queſtion.

The bollengers and cottes, ſoe ſwyfte
yn fyghte,
Upon the ſydes of everych bark appere;
Foorthe to his offyce lepethe everych
knyghte,
Eftſoones hys ſquyer with hys ſhielde
and ſpere.

There is in the ſame poem a miſtake of the tranſcriber, which it may be worth while to rectify. It was ſuggeſted to me by a learned friend; and is to be found in v. 28.

The banner gleſters on the beme of day;
The mittie croſs Jeruſalem ys ſene.

How could Jeruſalem, which was a city, and the great object of the armament, be ſtiled a *croſs?* The true reading was manifeſtly this.

Thie mittie croſs, Jeruſalem, ys ſene.

The

The croſs of Jeruſalem was the device upon every flag; and the badge of every knight: and it was to be ſeen upon the maſts of all the ſhips.

KNOPPED.

Theyre myghte ys knopped ynne the froſte of fere. p. 197. v. 14.

This is interpreted —*faſtened, chained, congealed:* and ſuch may ſometimes be the purport of it; but not in this place. What is here expreſſed knopped is provincial for knapped, from the verb to knap: by which is ſignified to * *bite off* and *crop very ſhort:* to *pinch off very cloſe.* It is certain, that in ſome of the dialects of this iſland, man is pronounced *mon*; captain *coptain*; to leap to † *lope.* In like manner

* See Kerſey, Johnſon, and other etymologiſts.

† So con for *ken:* dolve for *delve:* mory for *miry:* mowe for *may:* nouſe for *noiſe:* vorſt for *firſt:* wor for *war:* wop for *weep:* in Rob. of Glouceſter; in which author many more inſtances to the ſame purpoſe may be obtained.

to

to knap is here rendered to knop. The ſhort browſing of deer upon underwood is by Kerſey ſtiled *knapping:* and both *knopping* and *knapping* ſeem to be the ſame as nipping, differently exhibited. The purport of the line is certainly very different from that which is exhibited in the notes: and amounts to this,

Their might was * *nipped* in the froſt of fear.

The tranſcriber has neither expreſſed, nor explained it truly. He was at a loſs about the meaning of the word; and had recourſe to Chaucer and Skinner, where he found, that the term knop, and * knopped related to *tying* and *faſtening*. In conſequence of which he imagined, that this was the ſenſe here: he has accordingly interpreted, what ſignifies *diminiſhed*, *nipped*, and *blaſted*, by *faſtened*, *chained*, and *congealed:* to which it has no relation.

* Kerſey has, knopped, *tied*, *laced*.

DEYSDE.

DEYSDE.

The Lady Birtha ſays to Ælla—

Ofte have I ſeene thee atte the none-daie feaſte,
Whan deyſde bie thieſelfe for wante of pheeres. p. 79. v. 45.

This is in the notes interpreted—*ſeated on a deis*. By a deis of old was ſignified, a raiſed place or ſuggeſtrim, where a feaſt was held. It was afterwards uſed with a greater latitude: and it is interpreted in the Gloſſary to Gawin Douglas—a *deſk*, *ſeat*, or *table*. It is accordingly ſaid, when Achates brings Aſcanius to Dido at Carthage,

And as they come the Quene was ſet at *deis*. L. 1. p. 35. l. 20.

i. e. at table.

It is ſo interpreted by Matthew Paris, where he mentions the anſwers given to Pope Gregory by the convent of St. Albans.—Non permittitur ciphus cum pede

in

in refectorio nisi tantum in majori mensâ, quam Deis appellamus. In ductuario addit. p. 229, 14. As from *seat*, and to *seat*, came the participle seated; so from deis, and to deis, must be formed *deised:* and this was certainly the true reading.

Whan *deised* bie thieselfe for wante of
* pheers.

i. e.

Seated by thyself for want of equals.

GROFFYNGELYE.

Wordes wythoute sense fulle *groffyngelye*
he twynes. p. 69. v. 33.

It is spoken of a poet, and supposed to signify *foolishly:* and it is so explained in the notes. But the meaning is, that the

* The word is expressed both *pheers* and *feers*. In the version of Gawin Douglas it is *feris*.
It is said of Misenus —

Some tyme he was ane of grete Hector's feris.
p. 168. l. 46.

One of his companions. Of this word I shall say more hereafter.

person

perſon alluded to ſtrung together a number of unmeaning words in a very low, and abject manner. Gruff and groff ſignify *prone*, and *flat upon the ground*. Hence it is ſaid in Chaucer,

* They fallen *groff*, and crien pitiouſly.
p. 38. v. 951.

It occurs in another place,

And *groff* he fell al platte upon the † ground. p. 229. v. 13605.

When Niſus tumbles in the middle of the race, it is ſaid in the Scotiſh verſion—

He ſlaid and ſtummerit on the ſliddry ground,
And fell at erd *grufelingis* amid the fen.
p. 138. l. 41.

The term grufeling is the ſame, which we expreſs groveling; and relates to a perſon brought low and rolling on the ground. Hence I ſhould imagine that

* See Edition of Chaucer by Mr. Tyrwhitt.

† The like occurs in the Hiſt. of William Wallace.

In anguiſh greit on grouf than turnit he.
L. 12. p. 170.

the paſſage in Rowley has not been truly copied by the tranſcriber: and that for *groffyngelye* we ſhould read groffelynglye. As from loving is formed *lovingly*: from feeling, *feelingly*, ſo from groffelynge, groffelynglye. By groffelynge is meant any thing low and abject. Hence the meaning of the line above is—

Words without ſenſe full *abjectly* they twine.

When the tranſcriber interpreted this word by—fooliſhly, he proceeded merely by gueſs: and knew nothing of the real purport. In another part of the poems, there is a word of nearly the ſame ſignification—*Groffile.*

Thou beeſt a worme ſo groffile and ſo ſmal. p. 114. v. 547.

This is analogous to the former: and ſignifies groveling and contemptible.

ABOUNDE.

ABOUNDE.

His criſtede beaver dyd him ſmalle abounde.

1 Batt. of Haſt. p. 212. v. 55.

It is plain from the context, that *his helmet* did him very little *good* or *ſervice*. Hence I ſhould be led to think, that the tranſcriber has made a miſtake, and expreſſed by *abounde*, what was originally *aboune*, or *abone*. By which is ſignified any *good* or *advantage*. Abone, vox antiqua obſoleta, quæ mihi in ſolo Dict. Angl. occurrit. et exp. maturum facere. Author vult eſſe Italicæ originis: mallem declinare immediate a Fr. G. abonnir, bonum facere: mediate ab It. *abbonare*, *abbonire*, bonum facere, vel bonum fieri. Skinner. The purport therefore of the line above is—

His creſted helmet did him little *good*.

Chatterton was not at all acquainted with the Latin tongue: and did not uniformly

formly apply to Skinner: otherwiſe he would have taken advantage of this intelligence. There is a provincial term of nearly the ſame purport—to boon, or beun, to do ſervice to another as a landlord. Ray's North Country Dialects.

ABRODDEN.

Twayne lonelie ſhepſterres dyd *abrodden* flie. Eclog. i. v. 6.

This is interpreted *abruptly*. The ſhepherds fled from home *abruptly*. But according to the ancient Saxon, where the very word occurs, it has a different and more peculiar ſenſe. Abꝓoden, erutus, extractus, avulſus—Dict. by Lye and Manning. The meaning therefore is, that they were by the civil wars *exiled* and *driven* from their homes. Nos patriæ fines, nos dulcia linquimus arva.

BYSMARE.

BYSMARE.

Forth from Sabryna ran a ryverre cleere,
Roarynge, and rolleyng on yn courſe
byſmare. p. 202. v. 94.

This term byſmare is by the tranſcriber interpreted, *bewildered, curious:* which epithets he couples together, as if they were ſynonymous. But they, neither of them, convey the true meaning. The word occurs in Chaucer, and is ſaid to betoken *abuſive ſpeech*. So does the term billingſgate at this day: yet they had both a prior, and a very different meaning. In the gloſſary to Gawin Douglas it is mentioned as denoting a *bawd* or *pimp*. But this likewiſe muſt be in a ſecondary acceptation. Junius mentions its being found in Chaucer, and thinks, that it relates to *ſcorn* and *indignation*. Biſmare Chaucero denotat indignationem, contumeliam, deſpectum. When William the Conqueror lay dropſical at Rheims, Philip of France jeſted upon him, and ſaid, that

he had got a big belly, and had taken to child-bed.

The Kynge, he ſeyde, of Engelond halt
hym to hys bedde,
And lyth myd hys gret wombe at Rheyms
achyld beede.

Robert of Glouceſter, from whom this is taken, ſays, that he—*drof hym to* * *byſemare:* by which may be ſignified, that he drove him to *ſcorn*; or rather, I ſhould think, to wrath, and indignation. The word is of great antiquity, and we muſt therefore go higher for its original purport. Accordingly from the beſt, and moſt early authorities we find that by *byſmare* was ſignified any thing loud, and turbulent: alſo any thing, which cauſed terror and veneration either in ſound or appearance. Byſmare, horrendus. Olaus Verelius. Lex. Goth. p. 48. In Bede, *Byſmarfullum Gode* is interpreted, Deo *horrendo*. — L. 1. C. 7. p. 37. And in

* Byſmare——mocking, ſcorn. Gloſſ. to Rob. of Glouceſt.

the

the beſt Saxon † Dictionary, where the various ſenſes of this word, are enumerated, Biſmorful is among others rendered *horrendus*. This ſeems to be the original purport of the word: and from hence I think we may be pretty certain, that there is nothing *curious* alluded to: but by *courſe byſmare* is ſignified curſu ſonoro, vel horrendo: which is a deſcription very applicable to the Severn.

Had Chatterton been the author of theſe compoſitions, he would have introduced the word in the ſame acceptation, in which it is to be found in Chaucer: for if there be any writer, with whom we may preſume him to have been acquainted, it was with him. But he deviates from him in this place, and in many other inſtances. The reaſon was, becauſe he had an original before him: and the term, as it is to be found in Chaucer, could not be made to agree with the context. He therefore gave it the beſt interpretation, that

† Byrmen, contumelia, ludibrium. Byrmonful, horrendus. Sax. Dict. by Lye and Manning.

he was able: but was wonderfully wide of the mark.

There ſeem likewiſe to be other ſigns, that our tranſcriber often copied, what he did not underſtand: and that he probably made ſome ſmall alterations, when he could not preciſely make out the original. He uſes the word Byſmare as an adjective, which I believe by all other writers is introduced as a ſubſtantive. Hence I have a ſuſpicion, that he has not copied the text truly: and that what he has rendered *courſe byſmare* was in the original *hoarſe byſmare*.

Forth from Sabryna ran a ryverre cleere,
Roarynge and rolleynge on yn *hoarſe byſmare*.

i. e. rauco terrore fluens.

At all rates there is nothing in the original, which ſignifies either bewildered, or curious. We meet with the like term, introduced in the Storie of William Canynge as a participle.

Next Radcleeve Churche (oh worke of hande of heav'n,

Where Canynge ſheweth as an inſtrumente)
Was to my *biſmarde* eyne ſyghte newlie giv'n. p. 285. v. 139.

Biſmarde in this place ſignifies—*aſtoniſhed, filled with veneration*; being a participle from the ſubſtantive *biſmar*.

It is moreover to be obſerved, that this river is ſtiled *cleere*. Now this is an epithet of all others the leaſt applicable to the Severn. No perſon born at Briſtol could poſſibly have ſpoken of it in this manner. Indeed the term muſt appear very ill adapted to any river, which is deſcribed as *roaring and rolling on*. It is not conſiſtent with the deſcription of the Severn, which is given in the Storie of Maſter William Canynge.

Whylſt blataunt Severne, from Sabryna clep'de,
Rores * flemie o'er the † ſan-des, that ſhe hep'de. p. 278. v. 11.

* Flemie—the ſame as flema in Sumner: Flema, Flyma, Flyman. fugitivus. from Saxon flyma.

† A ſandy ſtream could not be clear.

Such a ſtream could never be pure, and tranſparent. It is a character, which Chatterton of all others would not have beſtowed upon the Severn. He would never have called it *cleare*, unleſs he had been appriſed, that the word had another latent meaning. But his ſilence ſhews, that he knew nothing of any ſuch hidden purport: for he would otherwiſe have inſerted it among his other interpretations, and avoided the ſeeming inconſiſtency. But Rowley was well acquainted with that which was a ſecret to his tranſcriber; and has written with great propriety. The Severn was famous both for its trade and navigation, and alſo for its ancient hiſtory and fabulous original. For it was ſuppoſed to have taken its name from Sabrina, daughter of Locrine, who was drowned in its ſtream. Our poet tells the ſtory differently, and ſays, that Sabrina was overwhelmed by a mountain, which was hurled upon her by a giant knight: and that after her death a river iſſued from her body.

Forth

Forth from Sabryna ran a ryverre *cleere*,
Roarynge and rolleynge on yn courſe
byſmare.

Now the word *cleere* does not in this place relate to tranſparency; but ſignifies *fine*, *noble*, *famous*, *renowned*: all which was a ſecret to the tranſcriber. It occurs in this acceptation in ancient authors; and in particular in the verſion of the New Teſtament by * Wiclif. In the gloſſary *cleere* is rendered fine and gallant: Clerte, *glory*. Apoc. C. 21. and Luke C. 3. Alſo clereneſs, glory. John C. 2. v. 17. It is thus uſed in an ancient recommendatory † prayer for a dying perſon. The ryghte ſplendaunt companie of Angellis be atte thy departure. The ryght *clere* ſenate of the Apoſtolys wylle defende the. The words in the goſpel of St. John, C. 17. v. 16. —*And I am glorified in Thee*, are in the old

* And whanne he was gon out Jheſus ſeide, nowe mannes ſone is clarified, and God is clarified in him. John xiii. v. 32.

† The Art and Crafte to knowe welle to dye. Printed by Caxton, 1490.

Suevic verſion rendered—Och jag ar *for-claret* 1 them. We find the ſame paſſage of the Evangeliſt paraphraſed in an ancient metrical verſion at King's College, Cambridge, where the word occurs in this ſenſe repeatedly: the preſent reading is as follows. *Theſe words ſpake Jeſus, and lift up his eyes to heaven and ſaid; Father, the hour is come: glorify thy ſon, that thy ſon alſo may glorify thee.* Again—*I have glorified thee on earth: I have finiſhed the work, which thou gaveſt me to do. And now, O Father, glorify thou me with thine own ſelf, with the glory, which I had with thee, before the world was.* This in the metrical verſion is paraphraſed after the following manner.

As oure lord Jheſus his eyen caſte an hei,
Toward hevene, he ſeide, fader, the tyme is ney
I come, that thou *clerneſſe* on thi ſone do,
That the ſone the mowe mak *cler* alſo.

Ich

Ich habbe y mad the *cler* in erthe, & that work alſo
To end Ich have now y browt, that you tok me to do.
And, fader, bifore thi ſulf make me now *cler*,
In thilke *clerneſſe*, that ich hadde ar ich come her.

From theſe evidences, I think, we may be aſſured, that by a river *cleere* in the paſſage above is ſignified—*rivus* * *clarus: a noble and renowned ſtream:* and that the term has not here any relation either to the purity or tranſparency of the water.

* In the hiſtory of William and the Werwolf, a Mſſ. in K. C. C. it is ſaid of a Queen, that

Sche went
Into a choys chaumber, the *clerli* was painted. p.66.
i. e. finely, nobly.

Hence probably came the preſent word *cleverly* and *clever*; both from clere.

DYGHTE.

Telle mie Briſtowans to dyghte yn ſtele.

p. 100. v. 945.

The tranſcriber does not ſeem to have obſerved that in this line both rythm and grammar are affected. Mr. Tyrwhitt has reſtored the true reading.

Telle mie Bryſtowans to be dyghte yn ſtele.

i. e. to be accoutred in their armour.

VYCTUALLE.

Here did the Brutons adoration paye
To the falſe God, whom they did Tauran name,
Dightynge his altarre with greete fyres in Maie,
Roaſtynge theyr vyctualle round aboute the flame.

2 Batt. of Haſtings. p. 264. v. 345.

Mr.

Mr. Tyrwhitt with his uſual accuracy has cancelled the term *vyctualle*, and reſtored the true reading—*vyctimes*.

Roſtynge theyr *vyctimes* round aboute the flame.

But does not this correction ſhew, that the perſon, who made the miſtake, from the evidence of that miſtake, could not have been the author of the original compoſition? I think nothing can be more plain. He ſeems to have had a Mſſ. before him, which he could not always read, as it was probably in ſome degree imperfect: and he has ſupplied the deficiencies to the beſt of his ability: but oftentimes not very happily.

HONDE POYNCTE.

The foemenn everych honde poyncte getteth fote. p. 95. v. 273.

This word is omitted in the notes, as unintelligible: yet it plainly relates to the marks

marks upon a dial: and to the hand or gnomon, by whoſe pointed ſhadow time was diſtinguiſhed. We ſhould now a days expreſs the ſame ideas by ſaying, that the enemy *every moment* got footing. There is a particularity in the expreſſion above, which may well be expected from a perſon of the times: whether it were Turgot or Rowley: but ſuch, as the boy of Briſtol could never have thought of. In truth he did not in the leaſt know, to what the term related.

A L E D G E.

—— Ne aledge ſtonde. p. 177. v. 5.

This Chatterton interprets *idly:* and that was certainly the original purport of the paſſage, before it was ſophiſticated by him. For he has tranſpoſed the letters, and formed his opinion by gueſs. The word *idle* is from the Saxon ydel, the adverb of which is ydelech. Therefore inſtead of aledge, he ſhould have expreſſed it

it *adelege*, which is analogous to ȳbelech. This was undoubtedly the true reading, of which aledge is a tranſpoſition. There is ſuch a word as aledge, but it is of a different meaning. Aledge, *eaſe:* Chaucer. Aledge, alleviate. Gloſſ. to Chaucer, by Mr. Tyrwhitt. It is the ſame, which we now expreſs *allay*. But the word in the line quoted is of quite a different purport.

ONLYGHTE.

Ælla threatens deſtruction to the Danes, who have invaded his country; and in deſcribing his purpoſe he ſays—

Theyre throngynge corſes ſhall *onlyghte*
the ſtarres,
The barrowes braſtynge wythe the ſlenne
ſchall ſwelle. p. 123. v. 678.

Every body knows, that the Danes buried their ſlain upon plains and open places in *tumuli*, which were called *lowes* and *barrows*. And Ælla in theſe fine lines

lines tells his ſoldiers, that the enemy's dead ſhall be ſo numerous, that they ſhall ſwell their tombs, till they burſt for want of room, and not ſuffice to hold them. But what is the meaning of the firſt line, where it is ſaid, that the dead bodies ſhould *onlyghte* the ſtars? Here is certainly a great miſtake of the tranſcriber, who did not know the author's meaning; and has ſubſtituted one word for another. Inſtead of onlyghte I make no doubt but that the original was onlyche; which ſignifies to be like, or equal to. Onlych is the ſame term, which we now expreſs *liken*: and the meaning of the line is this, that the corſes of the Danes ſhould be *like*, or *equal to* the ſtars of heaven.

Theyr throngynge corſes ſhall *onlyche*
the ſtarres.
i. e. match them in number.

Onlych comes from the Saxon onlic, ſimilis: whence alſo comes onlicniſſe, *likeneſs, an image.* Onlic, ſimilis: Spiðe onlice, valde ſimilis. Onlicniſſe, ſimilitudo, ſimulacrum. See Lye and Manning's Dict.

A L U S T E.

Then Alured coulde not hymſelf *aluſte*.
p. 214. v. 88.

Chatterton has certainly, as Mr. Tyrwhitt with great ingenuity proves, miſtaken the word *aiuſt*, and read it *aluſt*. This he has done by looking into Skinner, where the term ſought for is printed very obſcurely. The letter i, particularly, reſembles an l: which undoubtedly led him into this miſtake. The word, which he ſophiſticates, occurs in the firſt battle of Haſtings; where Alured is deſcribed as encumbered with his dead horſe fallen upon him.

Then Alured coulde not himſelf *aiuſt*.

This is certainly the true reading: and what was in thoſe times termed *aiuſt*, or *ajuſt*, is the ſame as by the French is expreſſed *ajuſter*; and by us at the preſent time *adjuſt*. The meaning therefore is—*Alured could not extricate himſelf, and recover*

ver his right poſition. The true word is very proper, though miſrepreſented. But the perſon, who was ſo groſly miſtaken, could not have been very converſant in ancient authors. And he, who was ſo fundamentally ignorant in writings of this nature, could not have been the author of theſe poems. Skinner ſays, *Aiuſt, ſubmovere, tollere:* as if it ſignified to *hoiſe*, or *hoiſt: he could not lift himſelf up.* At this rate it ſhould anſwer to the hauſſer of the French. But it undoubtedly comes from the verb *ajuſter*; as I have mentioned before.

TO THE OURT ARRAIE.

This expreſſion occurs in the ſecond battle of Haſtings, where it is ſaid—

The Normannes all emarchialld in a lyne
To the ourt arraie of the thight Saxonnes came. p. 266. v. 587.

The purport of the lines ſeems to be obſcure as they now ſtand: but by a ſmall change

change in arrangement the author's meaning may poſſibly be obtained. What is above rendered *to the ourt*, was perhaps in the original, *towart the*. The Normans came *towart the* arrai of the Saxons. That which we expreſs *toward* was oftentimes rendered *towart*.

Eneas ſterne in armes tho preſent,
Rolland his ene towart Turnus did ſtand.
G. Doug. Eneis. L. 12. p. 447. l. 29.

Again—

The bargis did rebound,
In rowand faſt *towart* the latine ground.
ibid. p. 326. l. 12.

I have however ſometimes thought, that poſſibly by *the ourt arraie* might be meant the *overt array:* and that *ourt* was a contraction for *overt*, or *ouvert*. By this would be ſignified the *open* array: the fair front of the Saxon battalions. * Overt: *open* or *manifeſt*. Kerſey's Dict. Overt: a Fr. ouvert. *apertus*. Skinner. If it be,

* Overte. adj. Fr. open. Gloſſ. to Chaucer by Mr. Tyrwhitt.

as I ſurmiſe, the line—To the ourt arraie of the thight Saxonnes came—intimates, that the Normans marched up to the oppoſite ranks of the Saxons; who ſtood in full view; and were alſo *thight: i. e.* cloſely joined, and firmly united. Thight. *well joined,* and *knit together.* Kerſey. See alſo Gloſſ. to Rob. of Brunne.

DRAWEN, or DRAWNE.

Drawne bie thyne anlace felle,
Downe to the depthe of helle
Thouſands of Dacians wente.

p. 24. l. 9.

The word *Drawne* may be right: yet I ſuſpect that it has been in ſome degree altered from what it was in the manuſcript. I imagine, that in the original it was *drav'n,* or *drov'n,* from the verb *drive* and *drove.* The Danes *driven* by Ælla's fell ſword ſunk by thouſands to the grave. Drawne may be provincial for drov'n: at all rates I think, that it has no relation to the word *draw* (traho) to which the tranſcriber

ſcriber probably referred it: as he has not given us any interpretation; nor any caveat to the contrary.

LOGGES and BORDELS.

The third Eclogue begins with theſe lines.

Wouldſt thou kenn nature in her better parte?
Goe, ſerche the *logges* and *bordels* of the hynde. p. 12.

There is certainly a miſtake in the ſecond verſe: for the plural logges is a diſſyllable; and makes a fault in the rythm. Beſides in thoſe times an hind had but one lodge or bordel: and he was perhaps well off to have that. Even now we never ſpeak of the cottages of the ſhepherd, nor of the huts of the labourer. The paſſage therefore for the ſake of metre, and of ſenſe, ſhould be corrected; and the words rendered lodge and bordel in the ſingular.

Goe ſerch the *logge*, and *bordel* of the hynde.

That is, go look into the weatherboarded cottage of the peaſant.

Bordel in Chaucer ſignifies a brothel; and bordeller, a perſon, who kept ſuch a place. But the author above uſes the words in their true and original meaning: borrowing them from the French writers; from whom they were firſt imported. In the language of that nation a bordel in its primitive ſenſe ſignified a *cottage*; and a bordeller, *a cottager*. And that our author has an eye to the original language is plain by his terming ſuch a perſon in another place, not a *bordeller*, but a * *bordelyer*: which is undoubtedly put for the French *bordelier*. The word is a diminutive from *bord* or *bourd*, an *houſe*, or *ſhop*. As bord is an houſe, ſo bordel is an inferior habitation; a cottage or hovel. Bordel, *a ſmall cottage*. Kerſey's Dict. The term bord, from whence bordel was derived, occurs in the poem of William and the Werwolf more than once: and is ſometimes expreſſed *bourdes*,

* Ælla, v. 410.

He

from their reſpective verbs. We retain the verb now, but inſtead of to coy we expreſs it to cow: by which is meant to keep under: to depreſs and tame. The word occurs often in ancient writers, from whom the original ſenſe may indiſputably be obtained.

* In worde nor dede nedeth him not to *coie*.

† She kept him *coye*, and eke prive.

i. e. tame.

‡ He niſt how beſt her hart for to *acoie*.

§ Then is your careleſs courage accoyed. *i. e. cowed* and *tamed*.

By Cuyen kine we muſt underſtand the quiet and domeſtic part of the farmer's herds. Theſe are oppoſed to others, which were more wild and unruly.

Mie cuyen kine, mie bullockés ſtringe yn fyghte.

* Chaucer. R. R. prol. v. 71.

† R. R. v. 4257. Edition of Mr. Tyrwhitt.

‡ Tr. lib. 5. v. 782.

§ Spencer. Shepherd's Cal. Feb. p. 4.

That is—My tame cows, and my diſorderly bulls and bullocks.

The word, when expreſſed coyen is of nearly the ſame analogy and purport.

Comme, and doe notte coyen bee.

p. 84. v. 125.

What we now expreſs by—*do not be very coy*, of old meant, *do not be afraid*; *do not be ſhy*. Coy and Coyen,—*nice*, *dainty*, alſo *ſhy*, *finical*. Kerſey's Diction.

APPLYNGES.

Mie tendre Applynges and embodyde trees. Ec. i. p. 3. v. 33.

In the notes it is explained *grafted trees*: but very untruly. Applynge is a diminutive of apple. It is to be obſerved, that the fruit is often put for the tree, which bears it. Nothing is more common than to ſay, we plant a codling, or a fig: and cut down a crab, or a ſloe. Moreover all words terminating like the word

He was at a *bourdes*, ther bachelers pleide. p. 22. b.

i. e.

He was at a public houſe, where young people gamed.

Again—

Sche—blive atte a *bourde* borrowed boyes cloaths.

i e.

She readily at a ſhop borrowed boys cloaths.

GO DO—&c. &c.

The poet is upbraiding men of a timorous diſpoſition; and bids them get away, while he ſings of war and bloodſhed.

Go, do the weaklie womman inn mann's geare:
And ſcond your manſion, if grymm war come there. p. 211. v. 19.

I think, that there is a miſtake in theſe lines: For what can be meant by *do the womman in man's gear?* The poet is ſpeaking to effeminate courtiers; and he has before ſaid, *Lordynges, avaunt.* I therefore cannot help thinking, that in the

original the lines run thus: not *go* do, but

Go to, ye weaklie wommen inne mann's geare,
And ſcond your manſions, if grymm war come there.

In the ſecond verſe the word *ſcond* ſignifies to diſgrace, from the Saxon Scondᵹe, dedecus: Scondlic, turpis, ignominiſous. It was ſometimes expreſſed Scandᵹe; whence comes the modern term *ſcandal*. By *ſcond your manſions* is, I imagine, meant *diſgrace the houſe of your anceſtors*.

We have a ſimilar paſſage in p. 224. v. 300. where the poet is ſpeaking of ſome recreant knights who did not act up to their duty in battle.

But manie knyghtes were men in womens geer.

Here however is a manifeſt tranſpoſition of the terms, which originally ran thus—

But manie knyghtes were women in mens geer.

This may have been the blunder of a tranſcriber; but could never be the miſtake

of the real compoſer of theſe poems. The author's meaning cannot be better explained, than from his own words above, and from another ſimilar paſſage.

Thus Leofwine: O women cas'd in ſtele. p. 242. v. 101.

i. e. *Women in mens gear.*

BIE THANKS.

The Lady Birtha being ſeized by the Danes fears every thing, which is bad; and deſires them to take away her life, and ſhe ſhall be indebted to them for ever: as that would free her from violence and diſhonour.

Bie thankes I ever onne you wylle beſtowe:
From ewbryce you mee pyghte, the worſte of mortal woe.
p. 157. v. 1084.

It is plain, as the learned Editor of theſe poems has * obſerved, that bie thanks is a miſtake for mie thanks.

* See Mr. Tyrwhitt's obſervations in the Errata.

Mie thankes I ever onne you wylle beſtowe, &c.

B L E N T.

Sir Roger in the 3d Paſtoral, p. 14. has been reaſoning upon the fate of all things; which are mixed, and alike doomed to periſh. The flower, he ſays, withers, as well as the weed:

See, the ſwote flourette hathe noe ſwote at alle.

i. e. hath no ſweetneſs.

He then proceeds to man.

The cravent, warrioure, and the wyſe be blent:

Alyche to drie awaie wythe thoſe theie dyd * bement.

Chatterton interprets the term blent, by *ceaſed, dead, no more:* but he is, I think,

* From the verb to mene, lugere: the ſame as moan.

O douchty child, maiſt wourthy to be menit.

Hence bemenit, and bement.

Gawin Douglas. p. 361. l. 2.

miſtaken.

miſtaken. He looked into Skinner or Kerſey for information: and the word is certainly ſo rendered by thoſe authors. But this is not the purport of it here. Blent in this paſſage plainly means mixed and blended: and it is derived from the Saxon blendan, miſcere: from which * *blent* is a participle. The words *dyd bement* may be right, but they are not according to analogy. However the purport of the lines, if rendered paraphraſtically, amounts to this—The Coward, the Brave, and the Wiſe, are blended together; alike to moulder away with thoſe, whom they formerly bemoaned.

CUYEN and COYEN.

Theſe ſeem to be two words of nearly the ſame purport, though differently exhibited.

The author here makes uſe of a participle in a very primitive ſenſe, which he

* Blent: *blended.* Chaucer. T. v. 1194. See Gloſſ. by Mr. Tyrwhitt.

expreſſes

expreſſes both cuyen and coyen: or the difference in ſpelling may be owing to the tranſcriber. The former term occurs in the firſt Eclogue, p. 3. v. 35. where the farmer is made to ſay

Mie *cuyen* kine, mie bullockes ſtringe in fyghte.

This cuyen is in the notes explained, *tender:* but it is nothing like it. It is certainly the ſame in purport as the French * coy and quoy; which ſignify *tame* and *quiet*. In ſhort, it is a participle from the verb to coy: from whence is deduced coyen and † cuyen: juſt as from drive comes driven; from ſhrive ſhriven: alſo laden, graven, carven, mowen, laven, ſhapen,

* Cambinhoy beres him coẏ, that fende's whelp. Rob. Brunne. p. 281. l. 21.

This in the French is —

Kambẏn hoẏe ſe tient coẏe, ne volt eyder. See the notes. The meaning is that Kambyn, or Cambin, was tame and peaceable, and would not lend his aſſiſtance.

Coy—quiet, ſtill, peaceable. Rob. Brunne Gloſſ.

Coy—quiet. Gloſſ. to G. Douglas.

† Coy and coyen—to quiet. Kerſey.

word in queſtion betoken ſomething diminutive and tender: and which has not arrived at maturity. This may be ſeen in the word codling before mentioned: alſo in yearling, firſtling, kitling for catling, bantling, nurſling, fondling, ſappling, foundling. Theſe are all diminutives, and relate to the moſt early part of life, and to that imbecillity, with which it is attended. An Appling is a young apple-tree: and *tendre* is for *tender*: when therefore the poet mentions—

Mie tendre Applynges and embodyde trees,

he oppoſes his young and weak plants of late growth, to the trees which are ſtrong and full bodied.

B L Y N N—ſtop, impede, ceaſe.

Blynne your contekions, Chiefs.

p. 115. v. 533.

i. e. *ceaſe your conteſts.*

Thus in Gawin Douglas the Sibyl ſays to Æneas,

Blyn not, blyn not, thou grete Trojan
Enee,
Of thy bedis, nor prayeris.
p. 164. l. 22.

The word is not * uncommon: and it occurs more than once in Rowley: particularly p. 8. v. 40.

The reynyng foemen—
Boun the merk ſwerde, theie ſeche to
fraye theie blyn.

The term to boun ſignifies expedire: of which I ſhall ſay more hereafter. I have introduced the paſſage above, becauſe there ſeems to have been a great blunder committed by the tranſcriber. Indeed, were we to take in a little more of the context, ſtill more miſtakes would be found: but I ſhall confine myſelf to that, which is before us. And, I think, nothing can ſhew more ſatisfactorily, than this paſſage, that Chatterton had an original before him, which he did not underſtand.

* In the Mſſ. poem at K. C. C.
Be ſtille, barn, quath themperour, blinne of the
ſorwe. p. 5.

Whether the Mſſ. was at all impaired, and the words in ſome degree effaced: or whether it were owing to his ignorance, and careleſſneſs, I know not: but thus much is certain, that the terms are ſadly tranſpoſed, and changed, to the ruin of the context. We know, that to blynn was a verb, which ſignified to *ſtop, delay, and hinder*. But he has ſo perverted the paſſage, that it is not eaſy to make any ſenſe of it. The natural order of the words was not *to fraie theie blynn:* but *the fraie to blynn*. And even here we have miſtake upon miſtake: for what he has rendered *fraie*, was undoubtedly *faie*, the foe. To *blynn the faie*, ſignifies *to ſtop the enemy*. King Richard is repreſented with his ſhips as juſt upon the point of landing. Upon this the Saracens run together, not to *ſtop* the contention and battle, but to begin it by oppoſing the enemy's landing: this is termed *blynning the faie:* for faie ſignifies *a foe*. The term was often ſo expreſſed from the Saxon ꝑa of the ſame ſignification. Fa, inimicus. Lye and Manning's Sax. Dict. In the verſion

ſion of Gawin Douglas, Niſus ſays to Euryalus—

Grete harm is done, ynuch of blude is ſched,
Throw out our *fayis* ane patent way is led. p. 288. l. 40.

Again,

Amyd his *fais* ruſchis redy to de.
p. 297. l. 7.

In another place Camertes tells the Rutilians, the Trojans are in number ſo few, that

The half of al our menzes grete and ſmal
Sal not fynd zounder ane *fa* to mache with al. p. 416. l. 17.

The true meaning of Rowley was certainly this. The people on land, whom he repreſents as running together at the ſight of the Chriſtian navy, have recourſe to their arms, and make a ſtand.

The reyning * foemen—

* Fomen—Enemies. Rob. Brunne.

Boun

Boun the merk ſwerd, and * ſeche the faie
to blynn.

i. e. they draw out their deadly ſwords, and endeavour to impede, and ſtop the landing of the enemy.

It muſt not be objected, that in other places Rowley makes uſe of the word *foe*: for the terms are introduced in the ſame manner, and uſed indifferently, by Gawin Douglas. He mentions

How Camilla hir *fais* down can ding.
p. 287. l. 33.

He ſpeaks afterwards of Turnus—

Turnus ſchakand his hede, ſaid, thou fers
fo,
Thy fervent wourdis compt I not ane ſtro.
p. 445. l. 36.

Again—

Ane ald crag ſtane, &c. he
Hynt in hys hond & ſwakkit at his *fo*.
p. 445. l. 52.

* This word is expreſſed in Gower after the ſame manner.

Whan Jaſon came the flees to *ſeche*.
i. e. to ſeek.

Conf. Amant. p. 105. The like to be obſerved in the Mſſ. of K. C. C.

The text, if we were to take in the whole, would perhaps be found to be farther corrupted: but I ſhall not meddle with it. All my endeavour is to ſhew from the nature of theſe miſtakes, that Chatterton had an original poem before him: and could not have been the author of theſe compoſitions. For this purpoſe the paſſage above is ſufficient.

AMENGED, and AMENGES.

Orr ſeeſt the hatchedd ſtede
Ypraunceynge o'er the mede,
And neighe to be amenged the poynctedd
ſpeeres. Song to Ælla. p. 25. l. 1.

The meaning of the word is *mixed* or *mingled*: but it does not ſeem to make any ſenſe here in this acceptation; and it is beſides not to be reconciled with grammar. It moreover ſpoils the verſe by being a triſyllable; and gives a time too much. What has been introduced as a participle, was originally a prepoſition; and expreſſed *amenge*, or *amenges*: which anſwered to the words *among* and *amongſt* with us. It is a variation of the Saxon amanȝ and amænȝes: and is by ſeveral writers introduced in nearly the ſame manner. We may find it often in the verſion of Gawin Douglas; particularly where Æneas is accompanying Evander.

Amangis

Amangis thame with ſic carpyng and talk
Towart Evandrus pure lugeyng thay ſtalke.
L. 8. p. 224. l. 35.

The word therefore ſeems to be the prepoſition, amenge or amenges; but altered by the tranſcriber to a participle. The meaning of the paſſage in Rowley is, that the * ſtede was ſeen to prance and neigh to be *amongſt* the pointed ſpears.

We have like authority for the word in another part of the ſame verſion. Virgil is ſpeaking of the Rutilians, who were found ſleeping in their camp at night: inter lora rotaſque: which is thus tranſlated.

The men ligging the hames about thare nek;
Or than *amangis* the quhelis and the thetis.
p. 287. l. 6.

The word occurs in another place: where it does not ſeem to be truly repreſented: and the text appears to be ſo corrupted, that it may not be eaſy to reſtore it. What I mention is at the beginning of the Storie concerning William Canynge.

Anente a brooklette, as I laie reclyned,
Liſteynge to heare the water glyde alonge,
Myndynge how thorowe the grene mees yt wyn'd,
Awhilſt the cavys reſpons'd ytts mottring ſonge,

* Of the term *hatched* I ſhall ſpeak hereafter.

At dyſtaunt ryſyng Avonne to he ſped,
Amenged wyth ryſyng hylles dyd ſhewe yts
head. p. 278.

The tranſcriber ſeems to have taken ſome liberties here, either from not having truly read, or not perfectly underſtood, the original. We meet with *riſing* Avon joined with *riſing* hills, which could not well be the words, or meaning of the original compoſer. And when ſomething is ſaid to *ſhew its head*, it is not eaſy to find out, what is referred to: for there ſeems to be a verb without a nominative caſe. How the lines ſtood at firſt may be difficult to determine. If I might venture a conjecture or two, I ſhould think that for *diſtaunt* we ſhould read diſtaunce: and for amenged with *ryſyng* hylles, which contains an aukward repetition, we ſhould put —wyth *ryſen*, or *riven*, hilles: by this is meant—ſurrounded with *interrupted* and *broken* hills, in the midſt of the highland cliffs, the river was ſeen to riſe. Amenged certainly ſignifies mixed, and ſurrounded. Robert of Glouceſter expreſſes it ymenged: and ſpeaking of the ancient Britons, he ſays

Thus were heo in werre and wo ymenged
by the Saxones. p. 278. l. 1.

It occurs in another place—

Tho

Tho heo were thorg out * ymenged with
ſwerd and with mace. p. 48. l. 21.

But there is ſtill ſome farther miſtake: for in the laſt line ſomething is predicated: and it is not clear of whom or what it is ſpoken. I ſhould therefore read the two laſt lines in the following manner. The poet has mentioned his ſituation—Anente a brooklette as I lay reclined: and given an account of the proſpect, which was afforded him.

At diſtaunce riſing Avonne, as he ſped,
Ameng'd with ryfen hilles dyd ſhewe his head.

To rive: diſcerpere, frangere. Lye's Etymolog.

Theſe liberties in correcting the text may perhaps be thought too great to be conſiſtent with true criticiſm. But there is reaſon to think, that the tranſcriber has taken as great, and the remedy muſt be adequate to the diſeaſe.

A L M E R.

The poet, in the truly excellent ballade of Charity, deſcribes a perſon overtaken by a

* Y menged ſive ymenged, vel ymengd: *mingled.* Gloſſ. to Rob. Gloceſter.

Menge: mingle, mix. Gloſſ. to Rob. Brunne.

ſudden ſtorm, whom he ſtiles an *Almer*. It is not impoſſible, but that there might have been ſuch a word to denote an *aſker of almes*: but it is contrary to analogy: and I think improbable. After a noble deſcription of the clouds gathering, and the approaching of the tempeſt, the perſon ſpoken of is thus introduced.

Beneathe an holme, faſte by a pathwaie ſide,
Which dide unto Seyncte Godwine's covent lede:
A hapleſs pilgrim moneynge did abide,
Pore in his view, ungentle in his wede.
Longe bretful of the miſeries of neede.
Where from the hail-ſtone could the *Almer* flie?
He had no houſen there, ne anie covent nie.

p. 204. v. 15.

He is again mentioned by the ſame title, v. 76. We find that the perſon, thus denominated, is ſpoken of above as a pilgrim: and when afterwards the Abbot of St. Godwin appears, and this perſon applies to him, we read agreably to what preceded—

An almes, ſir prieſte, the droppynge *pilgrim* ſaide.

Now we know, that a perſon, who had been upon a pilgrimage, was ſtiled a *Palmer*: It was a word in a manner ſynonymous with that

that of Pilgrim. In the viſion of Pierce Plowman a perſon is introduced, who purpoſes ſetting out upon one of theſe holy expeditions then in vogue. He accordingly ſays—

—Hang mi hoper at mi hals in ſtede of a ſcripe,
A buſhel of bread-corn bring me therein,
For I wil ſowe it my ſelfe, and ſith will I wend
To *Pilgrimages*, as * *Palmers* do, pardon to have. p. 31. b.

We may, I think, be aſſured, that this was the true reading in the two places above. Likewiſe what is expreſſed *hailſtone*, was, I believe, *hailſtorm*. In conſequence of which, I ſhould imagine, that the lines at firſt were after this manner.

Where from the *hailſtorm* could the *Palmer* flie?

Inſtead of

Where from the *hailſtone* could the Almer flie?

Again—

And from the pathwaie ſide then turned hee,
Where the poor *Palmer* laie beneath the holmen tree.

* Palmer, a pilgrim, that travels to viſit holy places. Kerſey's Dict.

Inſtead of the poor *Almer*. So far am I from ſuppoſing that this youth could have been the author of this excellent compoſition, that I am perſuaded, he did not underſtand the context. And as he had an ancient and impaired manuſcript before him, he had not ſagacity to ſupply the deficiencies, wherever ſuch happened. Yet he acted for the beſt, as we find in the preſent inſtance, where he introduced Almer for Palmer, thinking that it related to almes.

B R E T F U L.

Longe bretful of the miſeries of neede.

This in the notes is interpreted *filled with*: and by * Skinner—*top-full*: all which ſeems to be mere ſurmiſe. We find the word occur in the Crede of Pierce Plowman, where he is deſcribing a Fryar Preacher, to whoſe order he had no great regard.

A greet churl & a grum, growen as a tonne,
With a face ſo fat, and as a ful bleddere
Blewen *bretful* of breth, and as a bagge honged.

The word is to be found alſo in the Prologue of Chaucer, where he is deſcribing a Pardoner,

* See alſo Kerſey. Bretful, *top-full.*

His

* His wallet lay beforne him in his lappe,
Bret-ful of pardon, come from Rome al hote. v. 686.

It is alſo introduced in the Knight's Tale.

A mantelet upon his ſhouldres hanging
Bretful of rubies red, as fire ſparkling.
v. 2166.

What is the true etymology of the word I cannot pretend to determine. It may poſſibly be deducible from † breed and bred, which anſwer to the Latin, latus — *broad*. Bret-ful may ſignify latè oppletus, i. e. *filled the whole breadth*; and be analogous to brim-full: but of this I cannot ſpeak with any certainty.

CHERISAUNEI.

Some cheriſaun*ei* *'tys* to gentle mynde.
p. 75. v. 1.

Mr. Tyrwhitt with his uſual judgement has reſtored the original reading: which was certainly, as he repreſents it.

Some cheriſaun*ce* *it is* to gentle mynde.

* Mr. Tyrwhitt's Edition.

† Brede, *breadth*. Gloſſ. to Robert of Glouceſter. The ſame to be found in Robert of Brunne. Hence perhaps —bredful and bretful.

In

In reſpect to the word itſelf, it is borrowed from the French: and to be found in Chaucer and other writers. In this inſtance before us, as in many others, the mode of error will ſhew, from whom the miſtake proceeded: and we may be aſſured, that it could not have originated in the author of the work; but in the tranſcriber. This is not an overſight, and ſlip of the pen. There is deſign and induſtry in this variation; however ill conducted and miſapplied. The perſon, with whom the blunder began, muſt have had a Mſſ. before him; which he could not perfectly read and copy: as it was probably impaired with age; and the letters not clearly defined. He has in conſequence of this left out by miſtake the letter c in cheriſaunce; and rendered it *cheriſaune*. In the next place he has added to this miſtake by taking the initial i from *it is*; and joining it, as final, to the word, which is antecedent. By theſe means it is made *cheriſaunei*. Then with a ſeeming regard to accuracy he puts the mark of an aphæreſis to the word, which he had abbreviated, and expreſſes it *'tys*. For as he has unneceſſarily added a ſyllable in one place; he is forced to take it away in another for the ſake of the verſe. Now, as I before ſaid, we have in this example all the miſconception of a bad critic; who has been guilty

guilty of a complication of miſtakes. Had the real author left out a letter in the manner above; he would upon obſerving his omiſſion have inſerted it at once. He muſt have been appriſed of his own purpoſe; and been acquainted with the terms, which he uſed. But the tranſcriber was not maſter of them: he did not know their intrinſic worth: nor even the elements, of which they were compoſed. He therefore by trying to remedy one miſtake has run into others; and ruined, what he would amend. In ſhort I muſt recur to my original poſtulatum, that every author muſt know his own meaning; and his own terms, and diction. But Chatterton was by no means a judge of theſe before us; as is evident from his miſtakes. We ſee plainly in many inſtances, that he was perplexed, and at a loſs to find out the purport of the ſubject matter; which could never be the caſe of a real compoſer. The miſtake above is very ſimilar to others, which have preceded: particularly to that about fraying they blynn; inſtead of blynning the fraie, or faie: a miſtake, of which the true author of the poem could not have been guilty. The very terms, which we uſe, when we ſay, thus and thus was the original reading, plainly intimate, that there was an original work: not an original by Chatterton, who

was

was guilty of theſe miſconceptions; but of a writer far prior. Thus in the liſt of the errata, we are referred to the original (that is, *the author's*) reading. But this is always contrary to the reading of Chatterton. What is then the natural inference to be made? certainly—that Chatterton was not the author. He was the very perſon, who perverted and confounded the original. He muſt therefore have been only a tranſcriber, and commentator. The original reading was prior to his miſtakes, and by another hand. The learned Editor of Rowley's poems ſtiles them *the evident miſtakes of the tranſcriber*. Of theſe miſtakes the tranſcriber would never have been guilty, if he had poſſeſſed a fiftieth part of the learning and ſagacity of the Editor: with whom I agree in every thing: ſaving only that I am obliged to make this inference from the ſame premiſes, viz. that theſe miſtakes prove this young man to have been *merely* a tranſcriber, and that the author was a different perſon.

BESTOIKERRE.

No, beſtoikerre, I wylle go. p. 82. v. 91.

No, foule beſtoykerre, I wylle rende the ayre. p. 154. v. 1064.

Chatterton ſeems to have miſtaken the compoſition

poſition of this word, and out of the old ꝏ (or w) to have formed two letters, t and o. Hence inſtead of the true term beſwicerre or beſwikerre he has idly expreſſed it beſtoikerre. The word, when truly rendered, ſignifies *a deceiver*; from the Saxon beꝛꝛıc, fraus; and beꝛꝛıcan, illicere, fallere. See Lye and Manning's Dict. Gower ſpeaks of the Sirens, as ſinging in notes

Of ſuche meaſure, of ſuche muſycke,
Wherof the ſhippes they (did) beſwyke.
Confeſſ. Am. l. 1. p. 10. b.

It occurs in the ſame ſenſe in the Saxon Chronicle. ꝺ nouꝺeꝛ ꝛculꝺe beꝛꝛıcan oꝺeꝛ. See Hickes. Theſaur. v. 1. p. 158. The word ſimply was ſwyke: the preceding *be* is merely the old Saxon prefix; which we ſtill retain in many words; ſuch as becalmed, benighted, belimed, beſpoken, betoken. The word is found in Robert of Glouceſter. Anlaf ſays to King Athelſtan, who wondered, that he did not diſcloſe a ſecret to him—

Syre, he ſeyde, ych was yſuore to hym ar to the,
And gyf ych adde hym byſuyke, the wors thou woſt leve me. p. 272. l. ult.

It occurs alſo ſimply. Suyke, a *traitor*, ſeducer. Suykedhede, *treachery*. Suykedom, *treachery*. Gloſſ. ibid.

It

It is plain from what has preceded, that this young man could not read the characters, with which he was engaged. The old black letter ꝏ, having its firſt ſtroke elevated above the line, made him conclude, that the former part was a ꝛ: and the latter, not differing at all from an o, determined him in his notion. It could not be from Skinner, that he was led into the miſtake: for there the letters are too well defined; and he was too well acquainted with the common black letter to have been deceived. The elements there could not have afforded room for this deception. It was from a Mſſ. that he was miſled; where the characters are more confuſed, and of a more antique caſt. Of this particular letter many examples may be ſeen in Hickes's Theſaurus: eſpecially v. 1. p. 144. In the firſt Editions of Caxton, and in other black letter books, as low down as Spencer's Shepherd's Calendar, 1591: we may ſee it expreſſed much after the ſame manner, as we find it in Mſſ. ꝏ. This in an old writing, impaired by time, might eaſily be taken for ꝛo: eſpecially if the ſtrokes were not well defined, nor the letters ſeparated, as they are now a days. For the characters in old writings are often brought ſo very near, and are ſo blended with one another, that it requires much uſe, and a diſtinguiſhing eye, to decipher

cipher them. It above all things requires a competent knowledge in the language which they tranſmit. But of this Chatterton was confeſſedly deſtitute.

AMENUSED.

It is ſaid, upon the Chriſtian fleet approaching towards the Holy Land—

The *amenuſed* nationnes be aſton.

p. 6. v. 5.

In the notes it is interpreted—*the diminiſhed* or *leſſened*. But how could theſe nations be leſſened or diminiſhed, before they were defeated, or even attacked? The word is not truly expreſſed; and the meaning of it is very different. It ſignifies the *accurſed*, the *abominable* nations; alluding to the infidel Saracens; whom thoſe of the Cruſade held in deteſtation. By this term are denoted all ſuch as lie under a curſe, and are excommunicated. By Robert of Glouceſter it is truly expreſſed —*amanaſed*, and *amanſed*: and it occurs in that writer more than once. Speaking of Thomas Becket he tells us,—

He amanſede all thulke, that ſuch unrizt had ido,
To the churche of Canterbury, & the King ycrowned ſo. p. 474. l. 21.

The proud Archbiſhop, it ſeems, curſed and excommunicated all thoſe, who had done, *unrizt*, that is, *injuſtice*, to the See of Canterbury, and uſurped his office in crowning King Henry the Second. Theſe were the Archbiſhop of York; the Biſhop of Saliſbury; and the Biſhop of Exeter.

There are two words, which the tranſcriber has ſtrangely confounded. The firſt is, that concerning which we are now treating. It comes from the Saxon Amanſuman, excommunicare: and is to be found in many old writers. The other, *amenuſed*, ſignifies, as he truly ſuppoſes, to *leſſen*; and is derived from the French amenuiſer, *to diminiſh*. Of this I ſhall ſpeak hereafter.

It is to be obſerved, that our early writers often laid the ſtreſs, or accent, very differently from what we do now. From not attending to this we are apt to think their verſe more rough and hobbling, than in reality it is. The word *nationnes* in the quotation above, ſeems to be lengthened to four ſyllables, and to have the accent upon the penultima. From hence I am inclined to think, that the true reading of the word in queſtion, was neither amenuſed, nor amanaſed; but abbreviated amanſed. This the tranſcriber did not underſtand, and altered it to another word; for which indeed he had ſome authority: but it was to the detriment of the author's meaning.

Amanſy,

Amanſy, *curſe*. Amanſeth, *curſeth: excommunicateth*. Amanſed, *curſed*. Amanaſed, *excommunicated*. Gloſſ. to Rob. of Glouceſter. It is ſometimes found abbreviated — manſed, as in the Viſion of Pierce Plowman.

By mary, quoth a *manſed* prieſt of the
march of Ireland
I count no more conſcience, by ſo I catch ſilver,
Than I do to drink a draught of good ale:
And ſo ſayde ſixty of the ſame contrey.
p. 115.

From hence it is plain, that the amanaſed, or amanſed nations were the infidel Saracens.

If what I have ſuppoſed, be true, that by the amanaſed, or amanſed, nations, was ſignified the accurſed race; then we may ſee the proceſs of error in this young man. As he did not know the purport of the term, he had recourſe to Skinner's Etymologicum; or to Kerſey: but no ſuch word was to be found in either of them. However a word not very unlike in ſound, *amenuſed*, does occur in both; and betokens, *diminiſhed*. Amenuſed, *diminutus*. Skinner. Amenuſed, *diminiſhed* or *leſſened*. Kerſey. This he took for granted was the very term, of which he was in queſt: and accordingly altered *amanaſed* to amenuſed, and explained it by *diminiſhed*. But this ſeems to prove almoſt to a demonſtration, that he had a Mſſ. before him: and conſequently was merely a tranſcriber.

CORVEN, YCORVEN, YCORN, DECORN.

Thie gentleneſs doth corven them ſoe grete.
p. 79. v. 56.

Dyd ſo ycorvenn everrie ſhape to joie.
p. 42. v. 170.

Onn mie longe ſhielde ycorn thie name ſhould find. p. 102. v. 170.

It is interpreted—*mold:* but it ſignifies to frame and faſhion by cutting: Ang. to *carve*, from the Saxon ceoppan. It is to be found in the Crede of Pierce Plowman, where he ſays,

I ſemed upon that hous, & yerne theron loked,
Whow the pileres weren ypaint & *pulched ful clene,
And quaintly *ycorven*.

He mentions the Chapter houſe—

Corven and covered & queyntelych entayled.

Sometimes the word is uſed for to cut in general.

He vel doung as a gret ok, that beneathe *ycorve* were.
Rob. of Glouc. p. 208. l. 14.

* Poliſhed.

i. è. *He*

i. e. *He fel down as a great oak, that was cut beneath.*

It is ſometimes expreſſed Decorn; which ſignifies very much carved: for *de* in compoſition is often intenſive. It is ſaid by Robert of Glouceſter—p. 529. l. 21.

—Sir Gilebert the Marſchal
Defouled was thoru miſauntre & *debruſed* al,
And deide.

Debruſede, ſive debruſed, —*ſadly bruiſed: all bruiſed,—mightily cruſhed.* Gloſſ. to Rob. of Glouceſter.

B R E M E.

To ken ſyke large a fleet, ſyke fyne, * ſyke *breme*. p. 6. v. 6.

This word by the tranſcriber is interpreted *ſtrong:* but it has no relation to *ſtrength*. On the contrary it denotes any thing, which makes a fine and beautiful appearance: alſo any thing terrible and alarming. Hence *breme* winter is mentioned by Spencer: and in the poem of William and the Werwolf, the term is very frequent. We accordingly read of—

* This term occurs often in Gawin Douglas, expreſſed ſic, ſik, and ſich.

Lat us beſeik for peace at ſic diſtres. p. 177. l. 32.
Truiſt in na wiſe that this my werk be ſich. p. 7. l. 48.

a *breme* number of beſtes: a *breme* wild bere: *breme* dedus, or deeds: *breme*, battle.

—To abate the hoſte of that *breme* Duke. p. 18.

Be that time was that barn ful breme of his age. p. 61.

It is an intire Saxon word without any alteration, and expreſſed bpeme. By this was ſignified—ſolennis, clarus, notabilis. Lye and Manning. Sax. Dict.

This leads me to conſider another paſſage, which this perſon has equally miſtaken. Godwin is telling his ſon Harold, that he knows him to be noble and brave; but fears, that he is too much led by appearances.

And that thie rede bee ofte borne down bie *breme*. p. 177. v. 12.

Here *breme* is introduced as a ſubſtantive; and agreably with the interpretation given before, it is rendered ſtrength. But it relates here, as it did above, to ſomething fine, and ſpecious. Godwin therefore, when he has aſſured his ſon of his good opinion, ſtill intimates, that he is too much a Courtier; and that his *rede* or underſtanding, is often borne down by the magnificence of King Edward. The anſwer of Harold ſhews, that this is the meaning.

—— his Normans know,
I make no compheers of the ſhemrynge trayne.

That is—ſo far am I from being miſled by the gaudy appearance of the King and his Courtiers, that I have made no acquaint- with the tinſel tribe.

In an ancient ſong, quoted by Mr. Wharton, a lover ſpeaks of his miſtreſs as a beautiful bird—

That brid ſo *breme* in * bower.

i. e. ſo *fine* and *exquiſite*.

In another place mention is made of the ſeaſon,

When Briddes ſingeth *breme*.

In none of theſe inſtances is there any reference to ſtrength.

THE and THEIE.

The Poet ſpeaking of Alfwold, one of thoſe, who at the Battle of Haſtings led on the bands from Briſtol, ſays a great deal in his praiſe, and to the honour of thoſe, whom he commanded.

O Alfwolde, ſaie, how ſhalle I ſinge of thee,
Or telle how manie dyd benethe thee falle?

p. 253. v. 321.

* P. 26.

He adds farther—

Like thee their leader eche Briſtowyanne
foughte, &c.

* * * * * * *

Fore theie, like thee that daie bewrecke
ywroughte.

He then intimates, that of the Normans ſlain by them, one third fell by the hand of Alfwolde.

Did thirtie Normans falle upon the grounde,
Full half a ſcore from *thee* and *theie* receive
their fatale wounde. v. 329.

All the preceding ſtanzas end with an Alexandrine, which conſiſts of twelve feet: but this contrary to all rule conſiſts of fourteen. And the ſupernumerary words in the middle *(and theie)* entirely ruin the rythm of the verſe. The lines, I imagine, ſtood originally thus: the former being a queſtion.

Did thirtie Normannes falle upon the
grounde?
Full half a ſcore from *thee* received their
fatale wounde.

It may be ſaid, that the addreſs is not only to Alfwolde, but to the Briſtowans in general: and that the meaning of the poet is, that if at any time thirty Normans fell in the battle, one third were killed by the people from Briſtol. This may be the caſe, but

the

the verſe is ſtill wrong, and muſt then be rectified in the manner following —

Like thee their leader, each Briſtowyan
foughte, &c.

* * * * * * *

Did thirtie Normannes fall upon the
grounde?
Full half a ſcore from them receiv'd their
fatale wound.

The original reading may poſſibly be in ſome degree uncertain: but that the verſe is faulty, I think, can admit of no doubt. The particle *and*, with either *thee*, or *thie*, muſt be left out.

OMISSION.

I have mentioned, that every ſtanza ended with an * Alexandrine: and that it uniformly conſiſted of twelve ſyllables. But there is an exception to this, which I imagine has ariſen from the inadvertency of the tranſcriber. Gyrth, at the Battle before mentioned, goes forth with a ſmall number of men, and makes an attack upon the advanced guard of the Normans. And he tells Tankerville, who had wiſhed him not to be ſo eager to engage,

* I mean only in the firſt part of the ſecond poem. The other parts vary.

that he deſpiſes the whole power of his Duke: and then adds,

Here ſingle onlie theſe to all thie crewe
Shall ſhewe what Englyſh handes and heartes can doe. p. 240. v. 59.

The ſenſe is certainly compleat, as the lines here ſtand: yet the verſe manifeſtly ſhews, that ſomething is ſtill wanting: and the laſt verſe ſhould undoubtedly be in the manner following.

—— Theſe to all thie crewe
Shall ſhewe, what Englyſh handes and *Englyſh* heartes can doe.

BURLIE BROND—BETRASSED.

Am I *betraſſed?* ſyke ſhulde mie *burlie bronde*
Depeyncte the wronges on hym, from whom I bore. p. 177. v. 7.

Chatterton in his notes upon *burlie bronde* ſeems to be quite wide of the purport of theſe terms. There cannot be a ſtronger inſtance of his ignorance. But as the preceding word *betraſſed* may perhaps appear ſuſpicious, and create prejudice; I will bring ſome authorities in its favour, before I advance any farther. Betraſſed is provincial for betrayed; and ſeems to have been uſed in different parts

of

of the kingdom. Æneas is deſcribed by Virgil as looking at a painted repreſentation of the Thracian camp, where Rheſus was ſlain: which is thus deſcribed by Gawin Douglas.

—— not fer thence ſaw he quhare
The quhite tentis of Reſus evill kep
Betraſit were. L. 1. p. 27. l. 40.

One chapter in the hiſtorical poem of William Wallace begins thus.—How Wallace was betraiſit by Schir Johne Menteith, &c.
B. 12. p. 176.

Again—

For covetiſe Menteith upon fals wayis
Betraiſit Wallace. B. 12. p. 174. b.

Betraiſit: *betrayed.* Gloſſ. to Gawin Douglas.

In the poem of Ælla it is found expreſſed betraſted:

Oh! heaven, and earthe! what is itt I do
heare?
Am I betraſted?

It is found much in the ſame manner, though more ſimply expreſſed, in the ſtory of William and the Werwolf.

— Whan theſe were told,
How the two trattes, that William would
have *trayſted.* p. 71.

* P. 151. v. 1030.

Again—

Again—

Has that untrewe traytour *trayſted* me nouth.

p. 31.

I come now to the terms *burlie brand*, which the tranſcriber has ſo greatly miſtaken. He interprets burlie, *fury:* by which I conjecture, that he takes brond for an adjective; and ſuppoſes it to ſignify *burning*. According to him the ſenſe of the paſſage is—*My burning fury ſhall witneſs my wrongs*. But *bronde* is a † *ſword:* and burlie denotes any thing *large*, and *unwieldy*. It is often applied to men. Burly, obeſus, corpulentus. Lye's Etym. That brond, or brand, was uſed for a *ſword*, may be ſhewn from many examples; particularly from the verſion of Gawin Douglas.

The bytand *brand* uphenit heppit he,
And can reſiſt, and ſtynt the grete Ene.

L. 10. p. 348. l. 31.

Let me ſtand to my chance. I tak on hand
For to dereyne this matter wyth thys brand.

p. 436. l. 41.

But the authority moſt to my purpoſe is to be found in the poem of Blind Harry upon Sir William Wallace, before mentioned. Among the accoutrements of this hero are mentioned—

† Brand, gladium denotat. Lye.

Ane

Ane gude girdell, & ſyne ane *burlie brand.*
B. 8. p. 104.

The ſame is mentioned in the teſtament of Creſſyde annexed to the Troilus of Chaucer.

A burlie brande about his middle he bare.
v. 180.

It was a term applicable to any thing large and overgrown: hence in the ſtorie of William Wallace the poet upon an occaſion ſays of him—

Wallace returnit beſyde ane buirlie aik.
p. 46. l. 2.

i. e. *a large oak.*

The like appears in the original Ballad concerning the Battle of Otterburn, commonly called Chevy Chace. The word is in the copy publiſhed by Hearne expreſſed brylly by miſtake for byrlly. The poet is ſpeaking of the *doughetie Douglas*—

and commyng with him a myghtte meany
Both with ſpear *byrlly* and *brand.*

(See Guillialm Neubrigeus, by Hearne—Preface, p. lxxxiii.) By this is meant both with *burly ſpear and brand:* and what is meant by a burly ſpear may be known by a deſcription given of it in another place.

With

With ſuar ſpears off myghtte tre the cum
in on every ſyde.

Again—

He ſet uppone the lorde Perſe a dynt, that
was fulle ſoar
With a ſuar ſpear of a myghtte tre.
i. e. a large and *burly* ſpear.

The paſſage in Rowley has not only been miſinterpreted by the tranſcriber; but not truly expreſſed. In the firſt verſe there is a ſyllable too much: and the original probably run thus.—

Am I *betraſs'd:* ſyke ſhulde mie burlie
bronde, &c.

The purport of it amounts to this. *Am I betrayed?* ſyke. i. e. *aſſuredly my mighty ſword* ſhall imprint my wrongs in wounds, upon him, from whom I have received them.

From the authorities above we may perceive the true meaning of the words in queſtion. And we may ſee farther, how little acquainted Chatterton muſt have been with hiſtorians and etymologiſts: and how caſually and ſuperficially he muſt have looked into * Skinner. For this perſon explains *burlie brand* by *magnus enſis*. Had he got the terms

* He probably applied to Kerſey, who mentions the terms in both acceptations.

from

from this writer, he would at the ſame time have borrowed the purport of them: of which we find him utterly ignorant. This is another inſtance out of many, where the lines contain very good ſenſe; though the ſuppoſed author knew nothing of the matter. But as it is manifeſt, that he did not underſtand the context; ſo it is equally plain, that he could not have been the real compoſer. On the contrary, he had an original before him, from which he tranſcribed.

ADVENTAYLE and BORNE.

An Herald is introduced, as ſpeaking of himſelf, and proclaiming his office at a tournament.

I ſonne of honnoure, ſpencer of her joies,
Muſt ſwythen goe to yeve the ſpeeres arounde.
Wythe *advantayle* and *borne* I meynte emploie, &c. p. 29. v. 11.

It occurs more than once in Rowley: and is exhibited much in the ſame manner.

Upon the Normannes brazen adventayle.
p. 271. v. 681.

Peers'd

Peers'd thro hys adventayle & ſkyrts of
* lare. p. 271. v. 686.

In the notes adventayle is interpreted *armer*, and borne, *burniſh*. In the paſſage above there ſeem to be ſeveral miſtakes. The tranſcriber has expreſſed the former word with a d, adventayle, and advantayle: in which if there be any propriety, he was, I believe, little aware of it. The true ſpelling is ſuppoſed to be *aventayle*, from the French *avant*. It was ſome part of a ſuit of armour, which projected: and this might have been known from Skinner. Aventaile: credo a Franco-Gallico jam obſoleto, aventail; prætentura ferrea: προσερνιδιον: ab adverbio—avant. A like account is afforded by Du Cange: but neither of them define preciſely, what piece of armour it was. However from the accounts, which are uniformly given of it, we may be aſſured, that it was ſomething which ſtood forward; and is therefore ſuppoſed by

* Lare is provincial for leather, and is ſometimes expreſſed *lere* and *lire*. The meaning of the paſſage is, that ſome perſon pierced through this piece of armour and the leather, with which it was ſkirted and lined. There is a paſſage exactly parallel in the ſtorie of William Wallace.

Upon the craig with his ſword hes him tane,
Throw brane and lyre in ſunder break the bane.
B. iii. p. 14.

Du

Du Cange to be — anterior armaturæ pars. In the Mſſ. of William and the Werwolf, mention is made of the hero ſeizing upon a perſon, with whom he is engaged in fight, which circumſtance is thus deſcribed.

William thant witli by the aventayle him hente
To have with his ſwerd ſwapped of his heade. p. 54.

We find, that he laid hold of a particular part of the armour; ſuch as moſt facilitated his cutting off the head of his enemy. This therefore muſt have been part of the helmet: and that part eſpecially, which was moſt prominent, and liable to be ſeized upon: and this I take to have been the beaver. There were ſeveral ſorts of helmets of different denominations: and I imagine, that one of them was ſtiled an aventaile or adventaile, from a moveable beaver, which was made to ſlide up and down. The name was given from its affording, when the beaver was up, an opening to the air for reſpiration: and ſeems to have been derived, not from *avant*, but from *ad* and *ventus*, or *ventilo*: from whence was formed the French word *aventail*. Du Cange quotes from Rymer's Fœd. an order, Tom. 8. p. 384. Tredecim loricas, quinque *Aventailles*, quadraginta arcus, &c. The beaver of an helmet projected beyond the

the helm; and ſtood hollow: ſo that it gave an opportunity for a perſon to lay hold of it; and to force the head of his enemy downward. From hence I am induced to think, that an adventail was properly that fore part of the helmet, the beaver, but which often gave name to the whole. When this beaver was put up, it afforded an opening to breathe more freely, and to receive freſh air; which opening was from thence ſtiled a *ventail*, from ventilo. When Æneas was healed of his wound by Iapis, and was returning compleatly armed to battle, he embraced his ſon, who ſtood by his ſide, and kiſſed him: which is thus deſcribed by Gawin Douglas.

Aſcaneus zoung tendirly the ilk place
With all his harnes belappit dyd embrace,
And throw his helmes *ventall* a lytell we
Him kiſſit. p. 425. l. 18.

It is expreſſed after the ſame manner in an ancient poem quoted by Mr. Wharton. Hiſt. of Eng. Poetry, v. 1. p. 163.

Upon his ſhoulders a ſhelde of ſtele,
With the lybardes painted wele.
And helme he had of ryche entayle,
Truſty and trewe was his *ventayle*.
From Hiſt. of Richard Cueur de Lyon.

There

There is a paſſage in the Interlude of Ælla, where the adventaile is mentioned in conjunction with the helmet.

Who haveth trodden downe the *adventayle*,
And tore the heaulmes from heades of
myckle myghte. p. 109. v. 469.

Ventale or ventall, *a vent hole, and breathing part of an helmet:* a Fr. ventaille. Gloſſ. to Gawin Douglas.

Hence I imagine, that the beaver, and the helmet itſelf had the name of adventail and aventail, from being conſtructed in ſuch a manner, as to afford occaſionally ſuch an opening.

B O R N E.

By this word is ſignified a kind of gorget or breaſt-plate; expreſſed more commonly burn, and byrn; from the byrna of the Saxons. Byrna, lorica. Sax. Dict. In the laws of King Athelſtan, mention is made of a perſon's having a *burn* and helm. And ðeah he begýtuð, þ he hæbbe býrn ⁊ helm, &c. c. 72. In the laws alſo of King Ina, a *burn* and ſword are ſpoken of, c. 55. It was ſometimes expreſſed *bryne*, and *brynia*. Brynia, *lorica:* hringa brynia, *lorica annulis ferreis concatenata.* Olai Verelii Lex. Sueo-Goth. It is taken

notice of by Du Cange, as it is differently exhibited. Brunea, brunia, bronia, *lorica*. Gloſſ. Lat. Theotiſc. *thorax, militare ornamentum, lorica*. He alſo expreſſes it byrnan and byrn. Turnus is deſcribed in the Scotiſh verſion of the Æneis, as arming himſelf in the following manner.

He clethis him with his ſcheild & ſemys bald,
He claſpis his gilt habirihone thrinfald,
He in his breiſtplait ſtrang, and his *birnye*
Ane ſouir ſwerd beltis law down by his the.

p. 230. l. 42.

Among the Engliſh it ſeems to have been called burn: and in the poem, from whence I have quoted the paſſage, it appears to have denoted — militare ornamentum: probably ſomething like a gorget; with which the Heralds preſented the Knights, at the ſame time, that they gave them their helmets and ſpears.

I ſonne of honnour ſpencer of her joyes,
Muſt ſythen goe to yeve the ſpeeres arounde,
Wyth adventayle & borne. I * meynte emploie,
Who without me would fall unto the ground.

So

* This word is uncommon, and may, like ſeveral more, create unneceſſary ſcruples in the minds of thoſe, who are

So it ſhould be ſtopt. After the Herald had mentioned, that he was to preſent to the Knights, what belonged to them; he magnifies his own office; and ſpeaks of himſelf as the diſpencer of all honour. *I*, ſays he, *employ many, who without me would ſink to nothing*. In ſhort, he intimates, that all honours, and badges of honour, come through the hands of the herald: which ſeems to have been not at all underſtood by the tranſcriber.

Such, I imagine, is the purport of the two words in queſtion, *adventaile* and *borne*. By the former of theſe is meant, an helmet with a ſliding bever: by the others a kind of *cuiraſs* or *gorget:* which two by the tranſcriber have been interpreted *armer* and *burniſh*.

D O L E.

By a dole is meant, a *part*, *lot*, or *portion*. The Poet in the ſtory of his friend William Canynge mentions all his virtues from the earlieſt part of his life. But having

are not very converſant in ancient compoſitions. It ſignifies *many*; and is to be found in the Viſions of the Ploughman.

For ere I have breade a meale of, mote I ſwete;
And ere the commen have corne inough, *mant* cold morning. p. 68. b. l. 16.

occaſion to introduce ſome account of his father and brother, he is obliged to ſpeak of them in a far leſs favourable manner. Canynge was all generoſity: but of the brother and father he ſeems to ſay—*The Lord have mercy upon them: while they lived, they were devoted to gain.* This he expreſſes in the following manner.

He had a father (Jeſus reſt hys ſoule)
Who loved money, as hys charie joie.
He had a broder (happie be hys dole)
Yn mynde & boddie hys own fadre's boie. p. 284. v. 115.

This was certainly the original reading; but the tranſcriber not knowing the purport of the third line, has altered that part, which is put in a parentheſis, and introduced the word manne. Happie *manne* be's dole. By this inſertion he has ruined the verſe, as well as the purport of the line. By—*happy be his dole*—is meant—*Peace to his aſhes. Happy be his portion in the other world.* This, I think, is very plain. But what ſenſe can be made of—Happy man be his dole, is paſt my comprehenſion. From hence it appears farther manifeſt, that the tranſcriber ſometimes took liberties with the text.

KEPPENED,

KEPPENED.

A *keppened* poyntelle reſtynge at eche lyne.
Letter to Canynge, p. 73. v. 44.

To this no interpretation is given: but it ſignifies *careful, elaborate.* In Robert of Glouceſter—kepte, is explained *cared:* from *kepe* to *care.* See Gloſſ. This author, ſpeaking of the delicacy and good-breeding, which was ſuppoſed to prevail in the court of King Arthur, tells us—

Wymmen ne *kepte* of no Kyngt, as in druery. p. 191. v. 13.

i. e. took no notice, or care, of any Knight.

POYNTELLE.

This word in the notes is explained by *a pen, metaphorically uſed for a muſe or genius.* The tranſcriber took it from Skinner. Pointell exp. *a writing pen.* But this does not ſeem to be the meaning in the paſſage before us: for how can it be ſaid, that a careful *pen,* or a *muſe* and *genius,* reſted at each line? By poyntell is undoubtedly meant ſomething ſcrupulouſly nice and exact; analogous to puncto and punctilio now in uſe. The words

relate to unneceſſary care in writing and compoſing: by which each line was made to terminate at a point, without proper regard to the ſenſe. Some light may be obtained from Du Freſne's Gloſſ. in the article—De puncto ad punctum. Phraſis Gallica de point en point; accurate, diligenter, ſummâ cura: in litteris Philippi VI. Reg. Franc. an. 1339, &c. ipſas ordinationes et litteras Regis ſupradictás de puncto in punctum obſervantes. He mentions letters of Henry the Sixth of England—obſervari de puncto ad punctum. De puncto ad punctum totum ſcribimus præſens ſcriptum. *Pointelle* ſeems to have been formed from punctillum, a diminutive from punctum: whence came likewiſe the term punctilio. It ſeems often to ſignify ſomething, which ſuited well, and was happily adapted: ſomething, that in compoſition correſponded with great nicety. In the Crede of Pierce Plowman mention is made of a Cloyſter in an Abby, which was finely built—

> And ypaved with poyntill, ich point after other.

Every figured ſtone was made exactly to correſpond with the others. Such compoſitions ſeem to have been ſtiled *Point Deviſe*, according to Skinner. Point Deviſe, cujus membra exactâ

exactâ et geometricâ proportione conſtructa et conformata ſunt.

Gawin Douglas ſpeaking in a particular paſſage of the Trojans, deſcribes them—

In popill tre branches dycht at poynt.

p. 132. l. 2.

In the Gloſſary the terms *at poynt* are interpreted *exactly, fitly.*

In like manner, what the poet ſtiles—

To put to poynt and ordinance—

p. 466. l. 24.

Is rendered in the ſame Gloſſary—*to put in perfect order.*

In ſhort, there were two words expreſſed nearly the ſame; but of a quite different purport and original. The one, *pointel,* came I imagine from the Latin penicillus, or penicillum (quaſi penicle) and theſe from * penis (πεπος) cauda. This denoted a hair *pencil* or painters *bruſh.* The other, pointil or poinctel, was derived from pungo, punctum punctillum; and ſignified a *nice point* or *mark*; and with a greater latitude, *neatneſs, order,* and *exactneſs.* This is the *keppened* poyntelle mentioned above: which had no relation to a *pen:* much leſs to a *muſe* and *genius.*

* See Pompeius Feſtus: and other Etymologiſts.

A L Y S E.

Somme drybblette ſhare you ſhould to yatte alyſe. p. 72. v. 29.

The word is interpreted very truly—*allow:* but as it comes under different acceptations, and no authority is brought for its being at all uſed, I will take ſome notice of it: and this I do more readily, as the very exiſtence of ſuch a word may be doubted. The true hiſtory of it is this. It comes from the Saxon lyſe (liſſe) which among other ſignifications has theſe: * ceſſatio, permiſſio, gratia, favor. Hence—land to lyſun, *land for a property, or grant.* See Lye and Manning's Sax. Dict. Hence came the words, lyſan, *ſolvere; redimere:* and 'lyſand, *redemptio.* Hence alſo the very word in queſtion—alyſan, *to alyſe*; i. e. *liberare, ſolvere.* ibid. The word we find comes from the Saxon lyſe, *favor, gratia:* and ſignifies *to pay tribute, and regard: to quit ones ſelf of any obligation:* alſo *to permit, grant, and allow.* Our word *leaſe* is of the ſame original, and ſignifies a *grant*

* Lye and Manning's Sax. Dict. For *ceſſatio* we ſhould rather read *ceſſio.*

or

or *permit* of particular land from the proprietor to the tenant. Hence *aliſed* is by Kerſey interpreted *allowed:* and to him probably Chatterton was indebted for the purport of this term. We may therefore very plainly ſee the meaning of the poet, when he ſays,

Somme drybblette ſhare you ſhould to yatte *alyſe*.

By which is ſignified—that ſome ſmall ſhare of your regard you ſhould pay to the ſcience of poetry, which you ſeem to hold ſo cheap.

The word occurs in another place, where it may be further explained from the context. Earl Goodwin is ſpeaking to his ſon Harold concerning the incroachments of the Normans at the Engliſh court; and of the countenance, which was given to them by King Edward. His ſon joins in lamenting the times; and ſeems determined to take up arms, and free his country. The old Earl upon this addreſſes him in theſe words.

Botte lette us wayte untylle ſomme ſeaſon fytte,
Mie Kentyſhmen, thie Summertons ſhall ryſe.

* * * * * * *

Englonde, oh Englonde, t'ys for thee I blethe,

Whylſte

Whylſte Edwarde to thie ſonnes wylle nete
alyſe,
Shulde anie of thie ſonnes fele aughte of
* ethe ? p. 179. v. 30.

It is to be obſerved, that Goodwin was Earl of Kent, as Harold was of Somerſetſhire. There are ſeveral ancient records, which contain ordinances of King Edward to Harold, wherein the latter is mentioned in that capacity. One of theſe begins in the following manner. † Eadward King gret Harold Erl, and Tovid minne Schyre-refen, and alle mine þeines inne Somerſæten frendliche. Again— ‡ Eadward King gret Harold Erl, and Aylnoð Abbot, and Godwine Schyre-reven, & alle mine þeynes on Sumerſeten frendliche. Other examples preciſely to the ſame purpoſe are to be ‡ found. Hence it is, that thoſe words are by the author given to Goodwin.

Mie Kentyſhmen, thie *Summertonnes* ſhall ryſe.
i. e. *The people in thy province of Somerſetſhire.*

* Ethe for eaſe—See Gloſſ. to Rob. Brunne: ſo blethe provincial for bleed. For words of this ſort I ſhall bring authority hereafter.

† Hickes's Theſaur, vol. i. p. 160.

‡ In the ſame author, p. 161, 2.

In

In the paſſage above, Goodwin in his great concern makes an apoſtrophe to his country:

Englonde, oh Englonde—
Whylſte Edwarde to thie ſonnes wylle nete alyſe,
Shulde anie of thie ſonnes fele aughte of ethe?

By this is manifeſtly meant, *Whilſt the King will not* * *allow any of their rights to his own people; whilſt he will not pay any regard to thoſe, who are his natural ſubjects, how can it be expected, that they can ſit in a ſtate of unconcern and eaſe?*

Our word to *looſe*, or diſengage, is of the ſame original; from the Saxon verb alyſan. Hence it is ſaid, in the life of St. Margaret, concerning our Saviour—

† Anᴅ ſeþen ınᴅo helle þe holı goſt he ſenᴅ,
To aleſen criſtıne men.
i. e. *to looſen or ſet Chriſtian men free.*

In like manner ᴅo alyſan lanᴅ is to pay the rent, and free it from all incumbrances. See Lye and Manning's Dict.

* The poet uſes the word in the ſame ſenſe, p. 193. v. 180.

Full twenty mancas I will thee *aliſe*.
i. e. *allow*, *remit*, and *cauſe* to be iſſued.

† Ibid. vol. i. p. 226.

AMENUSED.

AMENUSED.

There are ſeveral faults in that paſſage, from whence I took my firſt quotation. I mean the letter to Maſter Canynge.

Somme drybblette ſhare, &c.

The author is ſpeaking of perſons, who abode too rigidly by the rules of hiſtory; and would not pay a proper regard to poetry: with the liberties of which they were unjuſtly offended.

Pardon, yee Graiebarbs, gyff I ſaie, onwiſe
Yee are, to ſtycke ſo cloſe and byſmarelie
To hiſtorie: you doe ytte tooe moche pryze:
Whyche amenuſed thoughtes of poeſie,
Somme drybblette ſhare you ſhoulde to yatte alyſe;
Nott makynge everyche thynge bee hyſtorie. p. 72. v. 25.

In the firſt place the tranſcriber explains the word *byſmarilie* by *curiouſlie*: whereas it ſignifies here *extravagantly*: or with ſo much *veneration*. In the next place the word *amenuſed*, which he has expreſſed in the paſt tenſe, ſhould be amenuſeth in the preſent, as is plain from the context. This is a different word

word from *amanaſed*, and *amanſed*, of which we treated before. It comes from the French amenuiſir, and ſignifies, as he very juſtly intimates, *to leſſen* or *diminiſh*. It is to be found in ancient * writers, particularly in the Treatiſe called the Pylgremage of the Sowle. In this a perſon, after his departure from the world, is ſuppoſed to have a view of the earth at a great diſtance. † *Thenne byhelde I the centre even in the myddes, whiche was aboute envyronned by ordre of leſſe derke mater and leſſe, ſo that the overmooſt of the erth was mooſt clere; and alwey the clereneſſe* AMENUSSYNG *dounward by veray formal proceſſe anone to the centre.* And here I think we may perceive the means by which the tranſcriber was led to this miſtake. It is to be obſerved, that the old Saxon ‡ theta, which ſome called the ſpina, was not out of uſe in the time of Rowley. The word, of which we are treating, was in the manuſcript expreſſed amenuſeð. This final letter the tranſcriber took for a common d: the croſs ſtroke being probably effaced: and

* Amenuſed. exp. diminutus. Skinner.

† Printed by Caxton, 1483. L. 1. Fol. 4.

‡ Hæc litera ꝥ, anglica *that* eſt nominata: et ponitur pro *quod*. Iſtæ tres literæ, þ ᴅ ð, *thorn* ſunt vocatæ, et ponuntur pro *th*. This is taken from a Mſſ. in the Cott. Lib. and quoted by Hickes in his Theſaurus. L. 2. p. 287. a.

he

he has accordingly, contrary to all rule, introduced the term in the præter tenſe: but it certainly ſhould be *amenuſeth* in the preſent. The purport of the whole paſſage is this. *Pardon me, ye old greyberds, if I think, that you are not wiſe in ſticking with ſuch a wild and extravagant regard to hiſtory. Ye do it too much honour. For it diminiſhes, and reſtrains the powers of poetry: to which you ought to make ſome ſmall allowance: and not confine all writings to the ſtrict rules of hiſtorical evidence.*

When the art of Printing was firſt introduced into England, it was for the moſt part carried on by foreigners; who had no type, that correſponded with this Saxon character. By theſe means it came to be diſuſed, firſt in printed books, and afterwards in writings. This is taken notice of by the learned Alexander Gil in his treatiſe ſtiled Logonomia Anglica, before mentioned. Nam cum prudentiſſimus ille Rex, et una faventiſſimus literarum, Henricus Septimus typographum Winken de Word (qui primus ſcripta Anglica prælo expreſſit) huc e Germaniâ evocaret, neceſſe habuit typographus illis, quos habuit, typis noſtras voces excudere. Sic primum accepti ſunt th pro ϑ. See his Preface, p. 6. He miſtakes about Winkin de Word; for he was by no means the firſt

printer: but the other part of his account is very conſonant to the truth. He afterwards proceeds in this manner. Cui etiam rei hoc argumento eſſe poteſt, quod Germani ſonos illos non habent, in quibus maxime erratum eſt: neque enim pronunciant *thing*, ſed Ding: pro faðeɲ, vater. We may obtain the like intelligence from Sir Thomas Smith, in his curious treatiſe upon the Engliſh language. He is ſpeaking of the Saxon theta; and ſays — hâc literâ ſive characterе, quam ſpinam vocant avi noſtri, et qui proxime ante librorum impreſſionem vixerunt, ſunt abuſi (it ſhould be corrected — ſunt uſi) ad omnia ea ſcribenda, quæ nunc magno magiſtrorum errore per th ſcribimus. — Spina autem illa videtur mihi referre prorſus Græcorum θ. De rectâ et emendatâ Ling. Ang. ſcriptione: p. 33. We find from theſe two very learned perſons, that the Saxon character, of which I have been ſpeaking, laſted till the art of printing prevailed; at which time it began firſt to be diſcountenanced. And this art was not known in England till towards the latter part of Rowley's life: about the year 1474. At this time Caxton firſt ſet up a preſs in Weſtminſter, and made uſe of the types which he had procured in Germany. Even then theſe characters were not totally laid aſide: for ſo late as

1502

1502 there was printed a Latin Miſſal, in uſum Eccleſiæ Helfordenſis, by Henry Pepwell: where one clauſe in the order of matrimony is expreſſed in Engliſh, and occurs in the following manner. Wyþ þys ryng y þe wede, and wyþ þys gold and ſelver ych þe ȝeve: and wyþ myne body ych þe honour. See Ames Hiſt. of Printing, p. 136.

From what has been ſaid, I think, it is pretty clear, that the tranſcriber of theſe poems did in his expreſſing of the word *amenuſed*, inſtead of *amenuſeth*, miſtake an old Saxon character; and conſequently muſt have had an original manuſcript before him. The nature of the miſtake ſeems to prove it beyond all doubt.

That ſome of the Saxon characters were retained in theſe Mſſ. ſeems farther clear from the words Dheie, Dhere and Dhereof, which occur at the beginning of ſome lines. Theſe ſeem apparently to be thus rendered from the Saxon Ð; which is always prefixed to words, which are either capital, or with which the line commences. Of this we have the following example.

Thie mittie croſs, Jeruſalem, ys ſeene:
Dhereof the ſyghte their corrage doe affraie.

p. 7. v. 28.

i. e. the

i. e. the ſight of which croſs abates the courage of the Saracens, concerning whom he is treating.

Thereof in old writers is continually put for *whereof*; and *there* for *where*; and expreſſed Đereof, and Đere.

I will borrow a few extracts from ſome ancient writings in verſe, which were antecedent to the art of printing: and by theſe it will be ſeen, that theſe Saxon characters were more or leſs retained, when the others were obſolete. They will likewiſe ſhew, that there was not any uniformity in writing in thoſe times: and by their anomalies will account for the peculiarities in Rowley: and likewiſe for thoſe French words, which are ſo often to be found in him. This will appear more apparently to thoſe, who will conſult the whole hiſtory: inſtead of taking up with the ſhort extracts, which I am obliged to make. I will begin firſt with a few lines from an old verſion of the Creed of Athanaſius, which will afford ſome evidence to what I ſay.

† Who ſo wil be ſauf to blis,
Before alle þinges nede to is,
Đat he hald with alle his miht
Đe heli trauthe and leve it riht.
* * * * *

† The Creed of St. Athanaſius in an ancient verſion. See Hickes's Theſaur. Ling. Septemp. vol. i. p. 233.

Ðat o god inne þrinneſſe,
And þrinneſſe in * onneſſe,
Worſhip we þe more and leſſe.
† Ne þe hodes oht mengande,
Ne þe ſtayelnes ſondrande.

The next extract ſhall be from the life of St. Margaret, which is to be found in the ſame ‡ author.

Olde ant yonge i preit ou oure folies for to § lete.
Ðenchet o god þat yef ou wit, oure ſinnes to ‖ bete.
Þere i mai tellen ou. wiþ wordes faire ant ſwete,
Ðe vie of one meiden. was hoten Maregrete.

* þrinneſſe and onneſſe.—i. e. *trinity and unity.* I ſhould imagine that the next line is not truly copied. It ought to be

Worſhip we ne mo, ne leſs.

The terms—*ne mo, ne* have been altered to *the more:* after which the particle *and* was inſerted to help out the ſenſe and metre.

† Not confounding the perſons,
Nor dividing the ſubſtance.

‡ Carmen Anglo-normanicum de paſſione Sanctæ Margaretæ—quoted at large by Hickes, ibid. p. 224.

§ To ſtop: check: put an end to. Ou and oure for you and youre.

‖ To amend, better.

Þere

Þere faðer was a * patriac. as ic ou tellen may,
In auntioge (a) wif e ches. † i ðe fals lay.
‡ Deve goðes ant ðoumbe. he ſerveð nitt ant ðay;
So ðeðen mony oþere. þat ſinget weilawey.

After the death of Margaret, the poem concludes as follows.

Ðe heie king of hevene lef us to ðon ſo.
Ðat we habben þe bliſſe; § þat laſt over ant oo.
Of the ſwete meiden. þis is her vie.
Ðe twenteuþe ðai is hire. i þe time of ivlie.
Ihū chriſt þat was born. of ſeinte Marie
Far ſeinte Maregrete love. of us have mercie.
Amen. Amen. checun ðie amen.

The ſame characters are found in the Mſſ. of Robert of Glouceſter; and are retained in the printed copy by Hearne. And in many inſtances where they are omitted in the printed copies of ancient writings, they are to be found in the manuſcripts. The like is to be ſeen in Robert of Brunne.

* A chief citizen.
† In the falſe law, or religion. *i. e.* pagan.
‡ Deaf gods and dumb.
§ The bliſs, that laſts ever and aye.

There are many things to be obſerved in the extracts above. In the firſt place we may learn, that people in thoſe times varied greatly both in reſpect to orthography and language. The ſame word is differently exhibited: and there are alſo many particular terms, which were not in common uſe. We find the words thrinneſſe and onneſſe, which ſeem to be of this claſs, in the creed of Athanaſius. In the other extract *o god* is put for one god, *ou* for you, and *oure* for your: all which is particular; and, as I ſhould imagine, provincial. I ſhould judge the ſame of the terms *over anꝛ oo*; which are put for *ever and ay*. We likewiſe find here, as may be ſeen more fully in other parts of this compoſition, French words introduced, in the ſame manner as they are found in Rowley. There are alſo words borrowed from the Latin, like ardurous, inutile, volunde, in Rowley: which do not ſeem to have been at all current: but coined merely for the preſent occaſion. Such is the term pouſte for poteſtas in a part which I have not quoted.

Nou þou haveſꝛ pouſte of my fleiſce anꝛ bon.
ꝛo * deruen myne ſoule pouſte neves ꝛov
non. ibid. Stanza 38.

i. e. Now

* What in Pierce Plowman, Rowley, and other writers is ſtiled to *dere* and *derne*: *i. e.* to *hurt*, and *injure*; is

i. e.

Now haſt thou power over my fleſh and
bone:
To injure my ſoul power ne haſt thou none.

It is obſervable that Rowley has mee for mead; and mees for meadows. We find analogous to this the word mai uſed by this other writer for maid.

Olibrius haſt þat mai in priſon don.
p. 226.

At the ſame time there are inſtances of his uſing the word maiden at full length, which ſhews that there was no uniformity in the writings of thoſe days. The language, as well as the ſpelling, in the verſes above is not unlike that in Rowley, though far more ancient. The principal reaſon for my making theſe quotations was to ſhew, that the Saxon theta was retained, when ſome other of the principal characters were out of uſe: which is from hence made ſufficiently evident.

is here expreſſed to *deruen*. Of this I ſhall ſay more hereafter.

It is obſervable, that *i* is ſometimes put for *in*; and that letter has never any apex or dot.

A D E N T E.

Ontoe thie veſte the rodde ſonne ys *adente*.
Ælla, p. 104. v. 396.

The word is in the notes explained *faſtened*. From hence we may perceive, that when Chatterton at any time comes near the truth, he does not preciſely know the meaning of the word, which he interprets: nor is he perfect maſter of the intelligence, which he has gained. The term above comes from the Saxon * ðynt, ictus; which is expreſſed dint and dent at this day. By theſe words is ſignified force; and any forcible impreſſion. We often ſay, that a thing was effected by *dint* of ſtudy; by *dint* of labour; by *dint* of perſeverance. The verb above ſignifies to impreſs forcibly, and with ſome latitude to *adapt*, *join*, and *faſten*. But in the line above it cannot well be admitted in the laſt ſenſe. We cannot with any propriety ſay, that the ſun was *faſtened* to a *garment*. The meaning here is, that the rays of the ſun were forcibly impinged upon the robe of the perſon

* And wyth hard dunt & gret yre togadere ſuthth hij come. Rob. of Glouceſt. p. 185. l. 2.

And ſmyte eyther other, her & ther, & harde dunts caſte. ib. l. 12.

Dunt. blow. ſtroke. Gloſſ.

ſpoken of. It may therefore be explained and rendered

Upon thy veſt the red ſun is *impreſs'd*.
i. e. *ſhines ſtrongly*.

It however does certainly mean alſo to be *annexed*, and ſtrongly *joined* to any thing: of which we have an example in Ælla.

As thou's faſte dented to a loade of peyne.
p. 94. v. 263.

i. e. forcibly annexed, from dynt, a ſtroke or preſſure.

The like occurs in Godwin, p. 179, v. 32.

Adented proweſs to the gite of witte.

This in the notes is explained *faſtened:* and it does in ſome meaſure ſo ſignify: but it may more properly be rendered, *annexed* and *adapted*. But though this be the meaning of the term, yet it ſeems not to be truly expreſſed: and I ſuſpect that there is ſome error which has ariſen through the fault of tranſcribing. For this reaſon I will lay, what precedes, as well as what is ſubſequent before the reader. Godwin in the play is giving advice to his ſon Harold, who appears too warm, and eager to riſe in arms.

Botte lette us wayte untylle ſomme ſeaſon fytte,
Mie Kentyſhmen, thie Summertons ſhall ryſe;

Adented proweſs to the gite of witte,
Agayne the argent horſe ſhall daunce yn
ſkies. p. 179. v. 30.

We find here the terms *adented proweſs* put abſolute and independent: which is uncommon and contrary to grammatical conſtruction. From hence I am led to ſuſpect, what I have before mentioned, that the Saxon theta has been paſſed over without notice: and that the ſpina ð has been taken for a common d. In ſhort I imagine, that what is here a participle—*adented*, was the imperative mood adenteth. Where we ſay give, they formerly ſaid *giveth*: and for love, *loveth*. Thus in Wiclif's Teſtament, inſtead of *take heed*, it is expreſſed *taketh heed* that ye do not youre rigtwiſneſſe bifore men, Matt. C. 5. Thus it occurs in Chaucer—

Now draweth cutte, or that ye forther
twinne.
Now draweth cutte, for that is min accord.
Cometh nere (quoth he) my lady Prioreſſe.
*Vol. i. p. 34. v. 837. 840. 1.

From

* Mr. Tyrwhitt's Edition. So verſe 3700.

Awaketh, Lemman mine, and *ſpeaketh* to me.
Now ȝe kynde men of þys lond *cutheth* ȝoure monhede;
And *awrekeþ* ȝou of þis luþer men.
Rob. of Glouceſt. p. 136. l. 12.

Armeþ

From hence I am led to imagine that Godwin in this paſſage bids his ſon to join his courage, and pin it, to the † gite, or robe, of wiſdom: that is, make a union of theſe two neceſſary qualities. The lines ſeem to be not truly ſtopped: and the whole ſhould probably be read as follows.

Botte lette us wayte untylle ſomme ſeaſon fytte,
Mie Kentyſhmen, thie Summertons ſhall ryſe.
Adenteth proweſs to the gite of witte,
Agayne the argent horſe ſhall daunce yn ſkies.

That is—If we do but wait for a proper opportunity, both my people, and thoſe of your earldom, will preſently be in arms. Temper your courage with wiſdom and art, the Saxon ſtandard will ſoon be ſeen diſplayed in the air.

The verb indent is ſtill current: and ſignifies to make a bargain; to contract. See Johnſon's Dict. It originally betokened to

Armeþ ȝou nou haſtelyche, armeþ ȝou anon,
Vor we ſſolle to day myd god help overcome ur fon.
ibid. p. 172. l. ult.

† And ſhe came after in a gite of red. Chaucer, v. 3952. A gite, a gown. ibid. Gloſſary to Chaucer. Gite, *a gown.* Kerſey's Dict.

tally,

tally, make a coalition, and to be united. It comes from Dynt, ictus. ðyntas, plagæ. Sax. Dict. L. and M.—Dint, a *ſtroak* or *impreſſion*. ab A S.—Dynt. Gloſſ. to Gawin Douglas. —Dint, *force, power*. Johnſon.

It is to be remembered, that at ſetting out, I laid it down for a certainty, that if any perſon tranſmitted a learned and curious compoſition, and was found not to underſtand the context, he could not be the author. Or if he varied any of the terms through ignorance, and the true reading appeared from the context, or from any good authorities, that perſon could not have been the author. Of this ignorance, and of ſuch miſtakes, I have ſhewn Chatterton in many inſtances to have been guilty; and ſome probably may ſtill occur in the courſe of my progreſs. I have inſiſted, that every author muſt know his own meaning. But this young man is continually betraying his ignorance in reſpect to the purport of theſe poems. They are therefore undoubtedly by another hand. His deviations, and miſconceptions, cannot be attributed to him as an original compoſer; but they may be eaſily accounted for in a tranſcriber: in one too, who was very young: who was a novice in the hiſtories, which are recorded; and not accuſtomed to the diction, in which they

they are tranſmitted. He had manuſcripts before him, which were probably not always diſtinct, and legible: and he had terms to explain, which were often above his capacity. He had therefore recourſe to gloſſaries, whenever they were to be obtained; and from them he altered ſome things, and explained others: giving the beſt interpretation that his ſcanty knowledge could afford. But there are a great number of words, with which he confeſſedly does not pretend to be acquainted: for he does not attempt a ſolution. And where he has attempted, we ſee, notwithſtanding the helps afforded him, how often he has failed. Of theſe miſtakes, there are none, of which he has been ſuppoſed guilty as an author, but may be more reaſonably attributed to him, as a tranſcriber and critic. Indeed, as I have before ſaid, they are incompatible with an original compoſer. An author, when very intent upon his ſubject, may poſſibly write *there* for *their*: *then* for *than*: but he will never put *tears* for *fears*; *ſtythe* for *ſwythe*: much leſs *victualle* for *victims*. Theſe are not ſlips of the pen, but real errors of judgment. The word Aſtrologer uſed ſometimes to be expreſſed *Aſterlagour*: and ſo it ſeems to have occurred in the ſecond Battle of Haſtings. He was ſo ignorant as to read it *Afterlagour*: and has abſolutely

lutely disjoined the conſtituent parts, and taken it for a proper name; the name of a Norman of ſome conſequence. He accordingly forgets the real perſon ſpoken of; and addreſſes this After la gour, as a perſon of ſcience.

Couldſte thou not kenn, moſt ſkyll'd After la gour. p. 255. v. 354.

He thought it was analogous to Delacoure, Delamere, and other compounded French names. So puerile are the miſtakes of the perſon, who is ſuppoſed to have been the author of theſe excellent poems.

REFE-

REFERENCES

TO

ANCIENT HISTORY

EXPLAINED AND ILLUSTRATED.

A LIST OF SUBJECTS.

ÆLLA
Rafne
Watchet
Briſtol
Summertons
Gronfrye
Argent Horſe
St. Cuthberte
Turgotte
Battle of Haſtings
Standrip Tower
Matraval
Powys-land
Howel ap Jevah
Oſwald
Hibernie's Wood
Goodrick
Elms

REFERENCES

TO

ANCIENT HISTORIES.

I SHALL now proceed to conſider ſome paſſages in theſe poems; which though they may at firſt appear obſcure and unintereſting, yet will be found true in fact; and may be illuſtrated, and aſcertained from the evidences of the beſt hiſtorians. Our diſtance from the ſcene of action renders the traces ſomewhat faint: yet upon a diligent inquiry they may be plainly deſcried; and will be found to lead ultimately to valuable diſcoveries. Among other conſiderations, they will ſtrongly intimate the age, which gave birth to theſe poems; and the hand, by which they were originally compoſed. In ſhort, it is my purpoſe to ſhew, that the alluſions in theſe poems are too refined and curious, and relate to circumſtances too remote and obſcure, to have proceeded from the young man, to whom theſe poems have been by

many aſcribed. That he was unacquainted with them will in a manner appear from his own evidence: as he either did not pretend to explain them; or elſe explained them untruly. I ſhall therefore in the courſe of my procedure produce many more miſtakes, of which he has been apparently guilty.

But my ſuſpicions do not terminate here. We have ſeen, that the obſolete terms are wonderfully authenticated, as well as illuſtrated, by being compared with the like words in other writings: and the moſt manifeſt analogy of all is to be found in the verſion of the Eneïs by Gawin Douglas; and ſome other early writers of his nation. Hence, though I am perſuaded, that all theſe compoſitions are of a genuine antiquity; yet I believe, that ſome few of them are of a date prior to that of Rowley; and have been tranſmitted to us through his hands from the north. This perſon, under whoſe name the poems have been publiſhed, has left us ſome account of his own life in the * Memoires of Sir William Canynge: concerning the authenticity of which in general I have not any doubt. In theſe Memoires he tells us, that when he was ſent by his friend to purchaſe for him curioſities, he availed

* Among the Miſcellanies in proſe and verſe by Thomas Chatterton, printed at London, 1778.

himſelf of that opportunity to procure manuſcripts for his own uſe. And he particularly mentions his being at Durham; where Turgott had been formerly Prior. He flouriſhed long before Rowley, yet the latter acknowledges great obligations to him for the light obtained from his writings: and he ſeems likewiſe to have been fond of ancient terms, and to have retained them with a kind of religious reverence. Hence many of the poems are of a far more ancient caſt, than is obſervable in the language of the times, in which he lived. And as ſome of them have ſuch an affinity with the Scotiſh diction, I believe, that thoſe of ſuch an appearance came from the vicinity of that country, and were the produce of the learned Turgott: who, as I have before mentioned, was Prior of Durham; and reſided ſeveral years in Scotland. They have been new modelled, and put into a more modern dreſs by Rowley of Briſtol: yet much of the language, and many of the hiſtorical alluſions, point to another æra, and to a different part of the world. Of this I ſhall ſay no more here: as ſufficient evidence will, I believe, accrue to this purpoſe in the courſe of theſe inquiries.

Æ L L A.

Among the poems of Rowley is a *Tragycal Enterlude*, or *Diſcoorſynge Tragedie*, called Ælla. Now it has been ſaid, that there were no plays ſo early written as this is ſuppoſed to have been: and that this muſt upon that account be a forgery. But how is it poſſible for us to know preciſely, at what time plays of this ſort were compoſed? They muſt have had a beginning: and why not in the age of Rowley; or even in a time far antecedent to him? No argument ſhould be admitted, which is founded upon mere inexperience. That there were plays written before the time in queſtion ſeems to be plainly intimated by Bale the Biſhop of Oſſory. In ſpeaking of Lydgate the Monk of Bury, he tells us, that he wrote many things in proſe and verſe: and having enumerated ſeveral of his works, he concludes with ſaying—that he alſo compoſed *Tragedies* and *Comedies* with other things of an entertaining nature. Lydgate is ſaid to have died at the age of ſixty, anno 1440: and to have been buried at St. Edmonds-bury in Suffolk. But there is reaſon to think, that he lived a few years longer. I am ſenſible, it may be ſaid, that under the title of *Tragedies* and *Comedies* nothing more was meant than

than ſerious and ludicrous poems: and without doubt under this denomination ſuch compoſitions are often denoted. On this account we will not lay too great ſtreſs upon this evidence: though when both poems and plays are ſpecified and diſtinguiſhed, we might naturally imagine, that the one article could not be included in the other. The words of Bale are as follow—

* Poemata et Odas,
Satyras et alia poemata.

Tragedias quoque ac Comædias, aliaque non injucunda edidit. Mr. Wharton, who has gone very deep in theſe reſearches, affords us proofs of plays not being uncommon in the year 1489: and he quotes a paſſage from an old curious memoir concerning ſhews and ceremonies exhibited that year in the Palace at Weſtminſtre. † *This Chriſtmaſs I ſaw no diſguyſings, and but right few plays. But there was an Abbot of miſrule, that made much ſporte; and did righte well his office.* And again—*At nighte the Kinge and the Queene, and my Ladie, the Kinges moder came into the Whitehall, and ther hard a play.* In William of Worceſtre, mention is made of a play being acted at a Monaſtery in Norfolk in the year 1477.

* Balæus. de Script. Illuſt. Britannie. L. 8. p. 587.

† Hiſt. of Eng. Poetry, vol. i. p. 239.

* Comædia ad Monaſterium Hulmi, ordinis ſancti Benedicti, Dioceſis Norwicenſis, directa ad reformacionem ſequentium: cujus data eſt primo die Septembris ſub anno Chriſti 1477: et a morte Johannis Faſtolf militis (eorum benefactor † præcipuus) 17°. in cujus monaſterij eccleſiâ tumulatur. There are other evidences concerning plays, and the decorations of plays, as far back as the reign of King Richard the Second: and even of his grandfather, Edward the Third. Mr. Tyrwhitt mentions Cheſter's Whitſun Plays, which are eſteemed as early as 1326: and he quotes paſſages from them, as may be ſeen in his very learned notes upon ‡ Chaucer.

I am ſenſible, that the plays mentioned above ſeem to have been confined to religious ſubjects. They were acted in monaſteries and churches, which made a ſcriptural hiſtory the moſt eligible for their compoſition. But though the monks of the times may have confined themſelves to theſe ſubjects; it does not follow, that people of more learning, and genius, were limited in the ſame manner. As plays certainly exiſted, the plan might ſome-

* Itinerarium Willelmi de Worceſtre, p. 161. Edidit. Jacobus Naſmith, Coll. Corp. Chriſti Cantab. Socius. 1778.

† I quote the whole, as I find it, without making any alteration in the Latinity.

‡ Vol. iv. p. 244.

times

times be varied; and the tranſition from ſacred hiſtory to profane was very natural and eaſy. Many generous attempts may have been made towards the improvement of the rude drama, and the introduction of compoſitions upon a better model: but the ignorance of the monks, and the depraved taſte of the times, may have prevented ſuch writings being either countenanced, or preſerved. It may be ſaid, that we have no examples of any compoſitions of this ſort. But this is begging the queſtion, while we have the plays of Ælla, and Godwin, before us. The former of theſe is particularly tranſmitted to us, as Rowley's. It is ſaid to have been produced upon a private ſtage: and the chief perſons before whom it was acted, as well as the place where, are mentioned. Thoſe alſo, who ſuſtained the chief characters, are ſpecified by name. We have nothing to offer in contradiction to this evidence, but ſuſpicions and ſcruples, which ariſe merely from inexperience; and have no real foundation. Let us then conſider this compoſition well; and the hiſtory, with which it is attended: and ſee whether from its texture, language, and references, it will not be found as old as it is ſaid to be. I muſt confeſs, I have ſometimes ſuſpected that the original plan was older.

It is remarkable, that Rowley in the title

to the play of Ælla, ſtiles it a *diſcoorſynge Tragedie*. This was done; becauſe, though there were undoubtedly plays written at this time, and long before; yet there were exhibitions of another nature; ſome of which conſiſted of ſcriptural repreſentations, without any regular dialogue: and ſome without any dialogue at all. He therefore gives this title to the compoſition, in order to diſtinguiſh it from the more ordinary ſhows and repreſentations: a caution, which would never have been thought of by the boy Chatterton.

The tragedy is denominated from the principal character, Ælla: upon whoſe misfortune the plan of the play is founded. He is ſaid to have been Warden of Briſtol Caſtle; and to have protected the province where he reſided, from the incurſions of the Danes. At what time the particular event happened, which gave birth to this excellent ſample of ancient compoſition, may be a circumſtance not eaſy to be determined. We may ſuppoſe, that the principal facts are true: that the Danes did land near Portlac and Watchet; and in other parts of Somerſetſhire: and that they were defeated by a perſon named Ælla. In order therefore to form ſome judgment concerning the æra of this tranſaction, it will be proper to conſider the various depredations,

made

made by the Danes at different times in theſe parts: and to collect the additional hiſtories, which relate to theſe events. Though the groundwork of the play be true, yet I imagine, that the author has taken the common liberty of a poet; and introduced many foreign circumſtances, in order to ſet off his compoſition to advantage. Among theſe poſſibly may be reckoned the treachery of Celmonde in reſpect to the Lady Birtha; and all the fatal conſequences, which enſued from it. But ſtill there was a real deſcent made by the Danes: and they were repulſed with loſs by a perſon of Briſtol, and the people of that country.

We learn from the Saxon Chronicle, and other hiſtories, that there were more perſons than one of the name of Ælla. So early as the time of Hengiſt, a Saxon Prince, called Ælla, came over with his two ſons, anno 477, and defeated the Britons near Andredſweald, where he landed; and afterwards in other * places. There was likewiſe an Ælla, the ſon of Uffa, a deſcendant of Woden; who obtained the kingdom in † Northumberland, anno 560. Another Prince of this name reigned in the ſame kingdom, anno 867; having been put up in the room of Oſbryght,

* Chron. Sax. p. 14. l. 15. 30. † Ibid. p. 20.

whom

whom a faction had * depoſed. This Prince was ſlain by the Danes at York, together with Oſbryght; and the whole happened anno 867, in the time of Etheldred King of the Weſt Saxons, and of Alfred his brother. By theſe means one would expect to gain a little light; and to be brought towards the æra, with which we are concerned. And we might naturally imagine, that great helps would accrue from the evidence of the Daniſh hiſtorians. But the Danes were as yet in a ſtate of paganiſm, and unacquainted with ſcience. On this account their chronology is often defective, and their hiſtories very confuſed. Saxo Grammaticus makes mention of theſe events; and ſays, that the Daniſh King was Regner Lodbrog. He landed upon the eaſtern coaſt; and finding upon his arrival, that the Prince, who had been depoſed, was greatly diſaffected, he gained him to his intereſt: and afterwards meeting Ælla, (whom he calls Hella) in battle, he defeated him near Norwich. According to Saxo, the name of the depoſed King was not Oſbryght, but ‡ Ivar. Quippe Angli, fugato eo, in Hellam

* Tyrannum quendam Ællam nomine, non de Regali proſapiâ progenitum, ſuper regni apicem conſtituerunt. Florent. Vigorn. p. 585. See Henry of Huntingdon. L. 2. p. 314.

‡ This circumſtance and many others cannot be true. Ivar was a Daniſh name. One of the ſons of this very King

Hellam quendam Hammonis filium, falſam Regis contuleránt poteſtatem. Quo (Ivaro) duce Regnerus perinde atque locorum uſu perito uſus, editâ claſſe, portum, qui Norwicus appellatur, acceſſit: ubi expoſitis copijs, Hellam, Gallicâ virtute ſubnixum, poſt extractam in triduum pugnam, fugæ amantem fecit. L. ix. p. 175. Thus far this writer agrees with the Engliſh hiſtorians, that there was ſuch a perſon as Ælla or Hella: that he was King of Northumberland: and came to the crown not in his own right, but by a party, which had depoſed the true king. But that he was in thoſe early times aſſiſted by the French, and fought the Danes at Norwich, cannot be believed. For Hella of Northumberland was dead, as I have before taken notice. The beſt Engliſh hiſtorians mention his being ſlain at † York. After this we have an account from Saxo of Regner's going to Ireland, and taking Dublin: and of its being recovered by a perſon named

King Lodbrog was Ivar. The Engliſh hiſtorians concerning theſe times, are far more to be depended upon than the Daniſh: though the latter ſometimes contain circumſtances not mentioned by the former.

† —— interfectus eſt Rex Oſbric et Ellan; et innumera multitudo gentis Northumber. —— See Hen. Hunt. L. 5. p. 349. See alſo Sax. Chron. p. 79. Florent. Wigorn. p. 585.

Hella,

Hella, who ſlew Regner. He ſpeaks of him as if he were the ſame perſon, as the former. But I have repeatedly ſhewn, that this could not be. Beſides it is not to be believed, that a petty Prince of Northumberland could at that time, or at any time, have a fleet of ſhips; and that he ſhould invade Ireland, when he could not maintain himſelf in his own dominions. It muſt have been another Ælla or Hella: for at this time the Danes were in poſſeſſion of * Northumberland, and all the northern parts of the kingdom. This therefore could not have been the hero of the play. Pontanus alſo makes mention of a perſon named Hella going over to Ireland; and there defeating Regner; and putting him to death. For this he quotes the authority of Aimonius. Regnerum Lothbrogum ab Ellâ apud Hibernos truculentiſſimâ nece confectum. L. iv. p. 100. It is ſaid of this king, that he was by Ella thrown among a number of ſerpents; and that when he had a viper gnawing his heart, he ſang his funeral ſong, in which he commemorated all his heroic deeds. Cum cor ipſum coluber —obſideret, omnem operum ſuorum curſum, animosâ voce recenſuit. ibid. The ſong is extant, and conſiſts of twenty-nine long

* See Sax. Chron. p. 79, and 83. and the authors above.

ſtanzas.

* ſtanzas. I ſhould not have thought, that a perſon would have had either inclination, or ability, to ſhew his muſical talents, when he had a ſerpent at his boſom. At the ſame time it is to be conſidered, that in Ireland there are no vipers. The old Daniſh writers deal very much in the marvellous: on which account we muſt not truſt to them too implicitly, when they treat of ancient occurrences. If there were any truth about a perſon named Ella going with a fleet to Ireland, and there defeating the Danes; it is more probable on many accounts that he ſhould be of Briſtol, than of any other part of England. It is ſaid by Saxo, that in proceſs of time, Ivar the ſon of Regner, invaded Hella; and by a ſtratagem defeated him; and at laſt put him to death. L. ix. p. 177. The like is mentioned by Pontanus: who ſpeaks of † Ella as a King: whereas the Ella or Ælla, concerning whom we are treating, could be

* In this ſong he is made to deſcribe the ſerpents, with which he was ſurrounded; and particularly the viper at his heart.

Crudele ſtat nocumentum vipera:
Anguis inhabitat aulam cordis. Strophe 28.

At the ſame time he is made to foretel the death of Ella; which was to be by the ſons of Regner. See Olai Wormij Lit. Run. p. 198.

† The perſon, by the one ſtiled Hella, is by the other expreſſed Ella.

no more than a Regulus; and accordingly called the Warden of Briſtol Caſtle. But this would not amount to much; did the other circumſtances ſufficiently coincide. For the Daniſh writers often call governors, and generals, kings. In the battle, which Athelſtan fought with the Danes near Brunenburgh, anno 988; no leſs than five kings are ſaid to have been ſlain. * Sax. Chron. p. 113. There are other inſtances to the ſame purpoſe.

Theſe hiſtories afford us ſome inſight into the times, with which we are concerned: though they may not point out the very object, which we want to have determined. Thus much may with certainty be concluded; that Ælla, or Ella, was a name of conſequence among the Saxons: the ſame may be ſaid of Celmonde; of which name there was an ‡ Earl of Kent; who died in the year 897.

* See Flor. Wigonienſ. p. 603. Quinque Regulos, ſeptemque duces. See Ingulphus, p. 865. l. 46, and 48. Henry of Huntingdon, p. 354.

† Regner in his funeral Dirge ſays, that he ſlew three Kings in the iſland Lundy: or rather Lindſey. It was a part of Lincolnſhire. Stanza xx. Robert of Glouceſter, ſpeaking of theſe inroads of the Danes, ſays

And by Eſtangle & Lyndeſeye hij wende vorth atte laſte.

i. e. by Lincolnſhire. p. 260. l. 17.

‡ Sax. Chron. p. 97.

Birtha

Birtha was an appellation equally noble. The wife of Ethelbert, the firſt Chriſtian King of Kent, and the daughter of Chilperic King of France, was ſo * called. I mention theſe things merely to ſhew, that there is a propriety in the names: and that poſſibly there were ſuch perſons, as are repreſented in the play.

As the two Daniſh commanders, who land at Watchet, are named Magnus and Hurra; I was once led to ſuſpect, that the tranſcriber here, as in many other inſtances, might have been guilty of a miſtake: which circumſtance, if it could be aſcertained, would afford us means to approach with more certainty towards the time of theſe occurrences. Notwithſtanding that I have with ſome care looked into the Daniſh and Engliſh hiſtorians; yet I cannot meet with a perſon named Hurra. Such a one may have exiſted: but the name, does not, as far as I can find, occur. On this account I was led to ſurmiſe, that Hurra may have been ſubſtituted for Hubba. The name, when deſcribed in ſmall characters, and in print, cannot well be miſtaken. But when expreſſed in capitals, and thoſe in manuſcript, the proper name HUBBA by an unexperienced young man

* Bede's Eccleſ. Hiſt. p. 76. See alſo Hugonis Candidi Cœnob. Burgenſis Hiſt. p. 37.

might

might be eaſily taken for HURRA. The ſons of Regner, who paſſed into England, and Ireland, are ſaid in the Daniſh hiſtories to have been in number ſeven, * *Eric, Orbec, Godofred, Inguar, Ulfer, Biorn,* and *Ubbo*; the ſame as *Hubba*. *Halfdeane* is not mentioned here, though as celebrated, as any of his brethren. He may poſſibly be included among thoſe above under another appellation. Hubba was particularly famous; and is often joined with *Ivar*, or *Inguar*; and always mentioned with terror by the Engliſh writers. Matthew of Weſtminſter ſpeaks of their firſt coming upon the Engliſh coaſt; and deſcribes the numbers, with which they were attended. † Quorum Duces fuerunt Hinguar et Hubba, diræ perverſitatis homines, et fortitudinis inauditæ. They carried on a piratical war in Ireland; and in coming from thence uſed to winter in South Wales. This is taken notice of by the ſame writer, who cannot ſpeak of their cruelty without horror. ‡ Iniquitas deteſtanda Hinguaris, Hubbæ, et Haldeni, qui cum viginti navibus ex Demeticâ regione, in quâ hiemaverant, egreſſi, ut lupi rapaces,—ad

* Hiſtoria Suecica operâ et ſtudio Erpoldi Lindenbruch. Anno 1595. p. 22.

† P. 161.

‡ P. 169. See alſo Henry of Huntingdon, p. 348.

Devoniam

Devoniam navigârunt. Another writer ſpeaks of them almoſt in the ſame words. * Inguar, et Haldene, egreſſi, ut lupi feroces, a miniſtris Regis Elfredi fortiſſimis occiſi ſunt ante Cimwich. If Hubba were the perſon, who was defeated by Ælla near Watchet, we might be aſſured ſo far concerning the time of the occurrence, that it was in the days of King Alfred; and prior to the battle of Kenwith, or Cimwich: for there Hubba was ſlain; and buried at a place, called from him Hubba's-low. Henry of Huntingdon mentions, that Alfred had many conflicts with the Danes, in the weſtern parts of England: and in theſe battles he was particularly aſſiſted by the people of Somerſetſhire. † Pugnavit ſæpe cum exercitu (Danorum) auxilio Somerſetenſium, qui ibi propinqui erant. ‡ The Daniſh hiſtorians certainly mention Ella by name; and ſay, that he was attacked by the ſons of Regner Lodbrog: one of whom we know to have been Hubba. They add, that Ella was ſlain. Thus much is certain, that the coaſt of Somerſetſhire lay very open to the inſults of the Danes, when they came

* Roger Hoveden, p. 417.

† L. v. p. 350. The ſame is repeatedly ſaid by Aſſer Menevenſis.

‡ See Saxo Grammaticus. L. ix. p. 177. Pontanus, p. 104.

from Ireland, or Demetica, which was the ſouthern part of Wales. Watchet was often attacked by them, and ruined. In the time of King Alfred, they muſt frequently have landed in theſe parts; as we may judge from the people of Somerſetſhire being particularly ſpecified as oppoſing them.—* Auxilio Somerſetenſium, qui ibi propinqui erant. Robert of Glouceſter ſpeaks of them in the ſame light, as oppoſing the Danes in thoſe parts.

† —— *and thet folc of Somerſete*, &c.
Hii come and ſmyte an batayle.

Our poet alludes to events of this kind, when ſpeaking of the river Severne, he ſays—

‡ Howe onne the bankes thereof brave Ælle fought,
Ælle deſcended from Merce kynglie bloude,
Warden of Bryſtowe towne, and caſtel ſtede,
Who ever and anon made Danes to bleed.

After all I muſt confeſs, that the whole of this inquiry is attended with great uncertainty. I do not therefore produce theſe evidences, as by any means tending towards a proof; but merely as an illuſtration of the hiſtory, upon which the play of Ælla is founded: and as ſuch they may be acceptable to the reader.

There are other accounts afforded us con-

* Henry Huntingdon above. † P. 260. l. 14.
‡ Rowley, p. 279. v. 15.

cerning

cerning the Danes infeſting the weſtern coaſt of England: and one in particular, which may throw ſome further light on the circumſtances of the poem. This inroad was of a later æra: and happened in the reign of Edward the Elder, in the year 918; at which time the Danes landed to the north of Somerſetſhire, under the conduct of Ohter and Hroald: and having committed many depredations in Herefordſhire and Wales, were at laſt defeated. In this engagement they loſt one of their Generals; and were forced to take ſhelter in a wood or incloſure. This by the author of the Saxon Chronicle is ſtiled a pearruc, or park: which we may ſuppoſe to have been part of a wood, fenced in: for parks, ſuch as are now, did not then exiſt. * ⁊ bebpipon hie on ænne peapruc. *The Engliſh drove them into a pearruc, or incloſure.* This part of the hiſtory ſeems in ſome meaſure to agree with the words, which the Daniſh General in the poem is ſuppoſed to utter—

I heere the anlacis deteſted dynne:
Awaie, awaie, ye Danes, to yonder penne. v. 727.

It ſeems to have been part of a foreſt: as we may judge from that, which is ſaid by the Danes in another part:

Heere ynn yis forreſte lette us watche for pree. v. 976.

* Saxon Chron. p. 105.

It is farther ſaid upon the flight of this people, that they were oppoſed in their rout ſouthward by the people upon the Severn: but they got by them twice, and made their way towards * Watchet and Portlac: in both which efforts they were defeated with great loſs: and particularly to the eaſt of Watchet. They were here totally routed, ſo that but few ſurvived. Thoſe, who did eſcape, got firſt into the ſmall iſland Stepeholme: and from thence to Demetica, a part of South Wales; and at laſt to Ireland. The name of the perſon, who was principal in theſe victories, is not mentioned. The two Daniſh commanders are ſaid to have been Ohter and Hroald: which names do not well agree with the Hurra and Magnus of Rowley. Some of the leading circumſtances are on both ſides ſimilar. The Danes invade the weſtern coaſt of England; and are defeated in their progreſs: on which account they make towards Watchet: and are obliged to take ſhelter in a wood or foreſt. We have a farther account of this affair given us by Henry of Huntingdon. † Rex autem (Edwardus:

* Saxon. Chron. p. 105.

† Henry of Huntingdon, L. v. p. 353. A like inroad is mentioned in the time of Etheldred, the ſon of Edgar. Edelredi Regis anno decimo nono Daci circa Cornu Galliam perrexerunt in Savernam, prædantes in Davene,

wardus: anno 918) fecit cuſtodiri littora Saverne ex auſtrali parte; a Walliâ uſque Afenam — &c. Ipſi tamen (Dani) bis furtim exierunt: unâ vice ex orientali parte WECED: aliâ vice apud Porducam, (Pordlucam): et utrâque vice pauci evaſerunt, qui occiſi non eſſent, præter illos, qui poterant natare ad puppes, &c. Tunc evaſerunt ipſi in Diomedum (ſive Demeticam) et inde in Hiberniam. In all theſe engagements we may ſuppoſe the people of Somerſetſhire to have been concerned. Watchet, which the Saxons called Weceb, *Weced*, lay very opportunely for the Danes, whenever they came from Ireland or Wales. They * burnt it in the year 987: and did much damage to the place and inhabitants about ten years afterwards.

The hiſtory given above may poſſibly be the ſame, which is alluded to in the play. Ælla for the honour of Briſtol is made the chief character: and by him Hurra and Magnus are ſaid to have been defeated; though there might be other perſons of equal note concerned. But after all I muſt confeſs my doubts about it: and have many reaſons to ſuſpect, that this affair was not of ſo early

Davene, et Sudwales; egredienteſque ad Weche-port cum ferro et flammâ, inde reverſi ſunt circa Penwiſtrit. ibid. ibid. p. 358.

* Chron. Saxon. p. 126, notes. Alſo p. 129.

date. Beſides Ohter and Hroald can never be eſteemed the ſame as Hurra and Magnus. I am perſuaded, that the latter name was not then known to the Danes. The firſt upon record, that I can find, was Magnus, the ſon of Olaus the Martyr: which Magnus was by Canute the Great diſpoſſeſſed of Norway. After the death of Canute, he in his turn attacked the Danes, and brought their King Swain to great difficulties. He is mentioned by Robert Brunne, and called both *Magnus* and *Magnum*.

Suane—
Praied him for his navy to help him with ſumm,
Bataile was gyven in the ſe ageyn the kyng Magnum.
* * * * * * *
For alle the help that he had, Magnus on him ſo ran,
And chaſed away Suane & Danmark on him wan.
Bot this Magnus lyved there no longer.

p. 57. l. 8. l. 13, 14.

It is farther to be obſerved, that according to this hiſtory the Danes did not land at Watchet; but began their depredations in North Wales; and then proceeded ſouthward through Herefordſhire and Glouceſterſhire; and ſo on to the coaſt of Somerſetſhire. Here was their final defeat: and from hence the remains of their army eſcaped to Demetica and Ireland. Theſe circumſtances do not agree with the hiſtory of Ælla. It ſhall therefore be my buſineſs to proceed upon

other

other grounds: which may poſſibly bring us nearer to the truth.

There is an intimation given in one part of the play; by which I think we may inveſtigate very nearly the time of the tranſaction. It is ſaid by the hero of Briſtol, by way of encouragement to thoſe about him,

> Let cowarde Londonne ſee herre towne onn fyre,
> And ſtrev wythe goulde to ſtaie the royner's honde.
>
> p. 120. v. 623.

i. e. *and ſtrive by money to ſtop the hand of the ruiner, the deſtroying Dane.*

This plainly relates to a compact made by the Londoners not long before this event at Briſtol: which compact is mentioned by Ælla as a baſe treaty; and unworthy of the people, who made it. If we can find out, when this convention happened, we may be pretty certain of the age, in which this perſon lived: and to what reign the tranſaction at Watchet may be referred.

There are more inſtances than one, when the people of London ſued for peace to the Danes; and obtained it for a ſum of money. This piece of policy ſeems to have been firſt carried into execution by Etheldred, the elder brother of Alfred. In the year 872, at which time Inguar and Hubba were ſo formidable, the Danes are ſaid to have marched towards London; and wintered there.

As the city was the capital of Mercia, and indeed of the whole kingdom; and not, as far as we can find, either beſieged or taken; we muſt ſuppoſe that the Danes were admitted there upon a compoſition; and that the ſecurity of the people was purchaſed for a ſum of money. That ſome ſuch compact was made we have intimation from the hiſtories of the times. The Saxon Chronicle takes the following notice of the enemy's march, and the treaty in conſequence of it. An. DCCCLXXII. Þeꝛ ꝼoꝛ ſe heꝛe to Lundenbyꝛiȝ ꝼꝛom Readinȝum, ⁊ þæꝛ pinteꝛ ſetl nam. And þa namon Myꝛce ꝼꝛiđ piđ þone heꝛe. p. 82. *This year the Pagans marched from Reading to London: and in that city took up their winter quarters: and the Mercians entered into a treaty with them.* Aſſer Menevenſis gives the ſame account. Anno Dominicæ incarnationis DCCCLXXII. nativitatis vero Ælfredi regis vigeſimo quarto; præfatus Paganorum exercitus Londoniam adijt, atque ibi hiemavit: cum quo Mercij pacem * pepigerunt, p. 26. As we may be aſſured, that no truce nor treaty could be well obtained from that powerful and inſolent ene-

* See alſo Simeon Dunelmenſ. p. 127. Alfredi Regis anno primo exercitus (Paganorum) venit Londinium a Reding, et ibi per hyemem fuit: et Mercenſes ceperunt inducias cum exercitu. Henry of Huntingdon, p. 349.

my

my but by purchaſe; there is reaſon to think, that the Londoners, and the Mercians in general, gained their ſhort-lived advantage by theſe means. There were other exactions, to which the nation was obliged to ſubmit, at different times afterwards. In the reign of King Etheldred the Second, anno 1012, they were obliged to pay largely to preſerve the country from ruin: of this we have an account given by the Abbot John of Peterborough. Perfidus Dux Edric, et omnes primates Angliæ, Londoniæ congregati, Danis tributum, ſcilicet quadraginta et octo millium librarum, perſolvebant. p. 35. Five years afterwards in the reign of Edmund Ironſide, the whole nation was expoſed to fire and ſword under Canute: when at laſt a treaty was made between the two Kings in the iſland of Athelney, in the year 1016. Upon this Canute retired into Mercia; and a * tribute was impoſed. Alſo a large body of the Danes came to London, where the people gave them an ample gratification in money, and then opened their gates to receive them. Chron. Sax. p. 150. The exaction was ſo large, that the people do not ſeem to have been able to levy the whole at once. Hence we are told in the ſame hiſtory, that

* See Johannes Brumton apud Scriptores Ang. Decem. p. 907. Pontani Hiſt. Rerum Danicarum. L. v. p. 152.

two

two years after the nation made its payment. *In this year,* 1018, *was the gabel payed throughout the whole kingdom to the Danes, which amounted to ſeventy-two thouſand pounds; beſides that, which the people of London were obliged to pay:* Þ pæſ xi þuſenð punda. *that was eleven thouſand pounds.* Chron. Saxon. p. 151. It is ſaid, that the Danes had before in the ſame year made an attack upon the city; but were repulſed with loſs. They upon this retreated into the provinces of Mercia, and deſtroyed with fire and ſword every thing, which came in their way. They afterwards made a ſecond attempt: when the Londoners, as has been ſhewn above, opened their gates to them, having purchaſed their mercy for the ſum ſpecified; by which means their city was ſaved. Simeon of * Durham ſpeaks of theſe times as very calamitous: and ſays, that at laſt a truce was agreed upon: which the Danes do not ſeem in the leaſt to have regarded. DANI tamen cum prædâ, quam diripuerant, ſuas ad naves redierunt; cum quibus PACEM DATO PRECIO Cives Londonienſes fecerunt; et eos ſecum hiemare permiſerunt. This, I imagine, was the particular fact alluded to, when Ælla is made to ſay to his people—

* De Geſtis Reg. Ang. p. 174.

Let

Let cowarde Londonne ſee herre towne onn fyre,
And ſtrev wythe goulde to ſtaie the royners honde,
Ælla and Briſtowe havethe thoughtes, thattes hygher.

The Danes probably had ſet fire to ſome part of the city, which induced the inhabitants to compound for the reſt. This compoſition was made, as I have before mentioned, in the year 1016: and about the ſame time, but ſomewhat ſubſequent to this event, was the landing of the Danes at Watchet; who were repulſed by Ælla, and the people of Somerſet. They were part of a large body, which had forced themſelves into ſome provinces of Ireland: from whence they often came over in a piratical manner; and made depredations upon the Welch, and upon the people of Devonſhire, Somerſetſhire, and * Cornwal. Hence without determining preciſely this event, upon which the play is founded, I will only preſume to place it in the reign of Canute the Great, ſoon after the Danes had got poſſeſſion of London: for that fact ſeems

* There is an inſtance of a later landing upon the coaſt of the Severne, and of depredations in conſequence of it. Anno MXLXIX.—Hybernienſes Piratæ, triginta et ſex navibus oſtium Sabrinæ intrantes, cum auxilio Griffini regis auſtralium Britonum, ſuper Anglos apud Wileſceaxan irruerunt, igne et ferro multa mala facientes. Chron. John. Abb. St. Petri de Burgo. p. 41. I however take the former event to be that, which is referred to by the poet: as the time is ſo particularly pointed out by the tribute paid at London.

to be alluded to as a recent event. On this account I ſhould place the engagement at Watchet to the reign of the firſt Daniſh monarch, and about the year 1020, or it may poſſibly have been a few years later.

RAFN, RAFEN, and RAFN-FAN.

There are many curious hiſtories alluded to in theſe poems, which may not be obvious to every reader. I am confident, that they were for the moſt part a ſecret to the perſon, who by many has been looked upon as the author. An hiſtory of this ſort is contained in the following lines.

> The Danes, wythe terroure rulynge att their head,
> Threwe downe theyr bannere talle, & lyche a Ravenne fledde. p. 131. v. 792.

Celmonde in the play of Ælla is giving an account of the victory gained by that General near Watchet: and of the precipitate flight of the enemy. It may be aſked, why they are ſaid to have fled away like a raven, rather than like a deer, or any other fugitive animal. The reaſon was, becauſe the banner, which they are ſaid to have thrown away, had this very bird for a deviee. The raven was held by the Danes in great reverence. It is ſaid in the Edda, that Odin was ſtiled Rafna-

Gud; *the deity of ravens:* and that two of theſe birds, were continually at his ear in Valhal, to inform him of every thing, which paſſed in the world: ſee Fab. 34. De mensâ et victu * Odini. On this account a raven was eſteemed ſacred; and was deſcribed in the chief ſtandard of the Danes. Spelman in his life of King Alfred, ſpeaking of the great defeat given to the Danes near Kenwith Caſtle by Oſdun Earl of Devonſhire, has the following words. Hâc factâ ſtrage, dum hoſtium exuvias colligunt, opibus haud parvis refertas, in manus Victoris venit inclytum illud vexillum Danicum, Reafan, ſeu corvus, dictum: ingens ethnicorum iſtorum fiducia. Quippe vexillum illud corvi ſimulachro magice intextum fuerat a tribus Hinguari et Hubbæ ſororibus. Ælfredi vita. L. 1. p. 31. Aſſer Menevenſis had before mentioned the ſame circumſtance. Anno 878. Eodem anno Frater Hynguari et Healfdenæ cum 23 navibus de Demeticâ regione, in quâ hyemaverat—ad Damnaniam enavigavit; et ibi a miniſtris Regis—occiſus eſt ante arcem Cynuit.—Quo tempore etiam acceperunt illud vexillum, quod Reafan nominant: dicunt enim, quod tres Sorores Hungaræ et Hubbæ, filiæ videlicet Lodebrochi, illud vexillum texuerunt, p. 33. The brother of Inguar

* See alſo Snorro Sturloſonius, C. 7. p. 8.

and

and Halfdeane ſaid to be ſlain in this battle, was the Hubba here mentioned, whom they buried at a place, denominated from him, Hubba's-Lowe. There ſeems to have been another battle fought with the Danes at Chipenham; which Pontanus ſtiles, Chipenhaum pagum prope Briſtolum. L. iv. p. 105. It was not properly at Chipenham, that this battle was fought: nor was this place in the vicinity of Briſtol. There were two victories gained; the one by Oſdun over Hinguar and Hubba, as has been before mentioned: the other by Alfred in perſon. This laſt was at a place, named in the Saxon Chronicle, and by Aſſer Menevenſis, Ethandune. It is a town in Wiltſhire, where it is ſaid of Alfred, Paganos maximâ cæde proſtravit. Aſſer, p. 34. It is very near to Chipenham; and here, I imagine, that a ſecond time a raven ſtandard was taken. Interca poſt paſcha illius anni (ſcil. 878.) cooptavit bellum Ælfred Rex adverſus exercitus, qui in Cippenhamme fuere in loco Ethandune; victoriæque obtinent numen. * Ethelwerdi Chron. p. 845. The place is now called Eddington, and lies in Wiltſhire. That this ſtandard was again taken may be inferred from Pontanus. And he here corrects the Engliſh hiſtorians, who called it

* See alſo Simeon Dunelm. p. 146.

Reofan;

Reofan; and informs us, that the name was a compound, and properly expreſſed Ravn-fan; from Ravn, or Rafn, *a raven*; and fan a *banner*. The Saxon Chronicle ſeems to be pretty exact in reſpect to this matter; and deſcribes this ſtandard nearly according to the ſentiments of Pontanus. The author of it is ſpeaking of the firſt battle at Kenwith Caſtle; and informs us — þaꝛ pæs ꝛe Luð-ꝛana ȝenumen, þe hi ꝛæꝛen heton. *There was the Guth-fan, or war ſtandard, taken, which they called the Raven.* p. 84. l. 34. It was by the Saxons ſtiled ſimply the Rafen: but in compoſition both Guth-fana, and Ravn-fana: for Fan, and Fana, ſignified an enſign; and alſo any device upon it. Guth-fana ſignified the * *war-ſtandard*; Rafn-fana, the *Raven ſtandard*. In the ſame Chronicle we have an account of a victory gained by King Athelſtan about the year 938. In this battle there are ſaid to have been ſeven ſtandards taken from the Danes, the devices of which are ſpecified. They were the Eagle, the Kite, the Toad, the Dog, the Wolf: alſo Hꝛæꝛn Bꝛýttian ꝛalu pipaðan, *the Raven, devouring the fleſh of Britons*; and þone ꝛpeaꝛtan hꝛæꝛn, hýꝛneð nibban: *and the ſwart Raven, with the hard horned nib or beak.*

* Guth, prælium, bellum. Lye and Manning Sax. Dict.

p. 113.

p. 113. l. 33. As this device was ſo common among the Danes; the poet with great propriety ſays, when they were ſeen to run away—Fear gave them wings, and that they fled like a *raven*.

The Danes wyth terroure rulynge att their head,
Threwe downe theyre bannere talle, & lyche a ravenne fledde.

The Raven was uſed for an enſign by other nations. Sigurd of the Orkneys, a Norwegian by family, had a ſacred ſtandard with the ſame device, given him by his mother, who was ſaid to be an enchantreſs. Tradito vexillo, in hoc, inquit, omnem artem impendi. Cui præfertur, nunquam non victoriam, ſed ferenti lethum, portendit. Miro artificio formam Corvi repræſentabat: flanteque vento ſublatum, volantis ſpeciem. Torphæi Hiſt. Orcadum. L. i. C. 10. p. 27. The like deſcription is given of the raven made by Hubba's ſiſters. It is ſaid to have had motion; and to have appeared, as if alive.

This reference in the poem to the ſtandard, which this people held ſo ſacred, is very natural, as well as poetical. The Danes themſelves in their ſongs had the like references. Regner Lodbrog in his funeral dirge alludes to the devices upon the Daniſh ſtandards, when he ſpeaks of the Eagle, the Hawk, the Wolf,

Wolf, the Dragon. And in recounting the many battles, in which he had been engaged, he mentions that theſe animals were ſatiated with blood. The Rafn, occurs more frequently, than any.

* Omnis erat oceanus vulnus,
Vadebat Rafn in ſanguine cæſorum.

This may explain, what is ſaid in another part of the play; which otherwiſe would not be intelligible. That, which I refer to, is in p. 122. v. 663, where the ſoldiers of Ælla beg to be led on againſt the Danes.

Onn, Ælla, onn; we long for bloodie fraie:
We longe to here the Raven ſynge in vain.
Onn, Ælla, onn, we certys gayne the daie,
Whanne thou doſte leade us to the leathal playne.

In another place (p. 137. v. 865.) a perſon ſays—

Harke the Ravenne flaps hys wing.

Again, p. 121. v. 641.

Thanne, whanne the Ravenne crokes uponne the playne,
Oh! lette ytt bee the knelle to myghtie Dacians ſlayne.

In all theſe paſſages the poet alludes to the ſacred ſtandard: which is ſpoken of as if gifted with life: and it was in ſome meaſure eſteemed ſo by the Danes. Dicunt enim,

* Olaus Wormius, p. 199.

quod in omni bello, ubi præcederet idem ſignum, ſi victoriam adepturi eſſent, appareret in medio ſigni, quaſi Corvus vivus volitans. Sin vero vincendi in futuro fuiſſent, penderet directe, nihil movens: et hoc ſæpe probatum eſt. Aſſer Menevenſis ad annum. 878.

WATCHET.

I have mentioned, that one of the principal places, where the Danes landed, in the weſt, was Weched, by the Saxons expreſſed Weceð: among whom the letter c was often pronounced like ch. They called it Weched, and Weched-port: and from hence came the name of Watchett: by which it has been diſtinguiſhed in later times. It occurs in Rowley, p. 118. and p. 125. where the army is ſaid to be near *Watchette*; and the Danes are repreſented as running away near *Watchette*. Celmonde, v. 1078, ſpeaks of his engaging in fight near *Watchette*: and Ælla is ſaid to have been detained there after the battle, on account of his wounds. Birtha ſays

* Celdmonde dyd comme to me at tyme of reſte,
Wordeynge for mee to flie, att youre requeſte,
To *Watchette* towne, where you deceaſynge laie.

* P. 123.

Now,

Now, though it is a matter of no great moment, yet I am perſuaded, that in all theſe inſtances the original reading was Weched: which has been unduly altered to the more modern name, Watchet. Lambarde, comparatively a late writer, mentions it by the name of Wached, and Wached-port: and ſo it is called by every ancient hiſtorian. Beſides the tranſcriber does not ſeem to have obſerved, that the place expreſſed by him Watchett, where Ælla lay wounded, was the ſame, which before had been called Wedeceſter, v. 943.

Ælla ſore wounded ys yn bykerous fraie;
In Wedeceſter's wallid toune he lyes.

It was the very place, which they ſet out to defend from the enemy, who was advancing towards it.

Haſte ſwythen, fore anieghe the towne theie bee,
And Wedeceſterres rolle of dome bee fulle. v. 241.

There ſeem to be in this paſſage more miſtakes than one. The term *fore* may be inſtead of *for*: or elſe an abbreviation of *before*. If this be the caſe, there will not need any alteration. But what is here expreſſed *fore*, I imagine to have been in the original *ore*, ſometimes expreſſed *or*, and *eer*. The ſenſe is to this amount. The Danes are upon the coaſt:

Haſte ſwythen, ore aneighe the towne theie bee,
And Wedeceſters rolle of dome bee fulle:

That is, *Make haſt, ere they beſet the place and take it:* for it was the key of the country, and had been fortified accordingly. In the next place it is plain from hiſtory, as well as from the poem, that this Wedeceſter was the ſame as Watchet: for here Ælla is ſaid afterwards to have been confined by his wounds. It ſhould therefore have been rendered in every inſtance, not *Wedeceſter*, for there was no ſuch place: but *Wecedceſter*; as is manifeſt from the beſt authorities. We find it called Weceð, and Weceð-port, *Weched*, and *Weched-port*, by various authors. So it occurs in the Saxon Chronicle; in Aſſer Menevenſis, in Matthew of Weſtminſter, Henry of Huntingdon, Lambarde, Camden, and other writers. Roger Hovedon names it Weced-port, and ſays, * Anno 988, Weced-port a Danicis Piratis devaſtatur. From this *Weced*, and *Weched*, came the modern name *Watchet*: and they reciprocally prove each other to be one and the ſame place from the hiſtory, with which they are accompanied. We may therefore be aſſured, that what the tranſcriber has expreſſed *Wedeceſter* ſhould be rendered *Weced-ceſter*, or *Weched-ceſter*; for that was the true name. And we may, I think, be further certified, that, if the place was called in compoſition *Weched-ceſter*, the

* P. 427.

name uncompounded muſt have been in every inſtance *Weched.* When therefore we find it rendered *Watchet*, we may preſume, that it is an innovation of the tranſcriber; who was not verſed in antiquity. He accordingly, as he was ignorant of the propriety of the ancient term, altered it to another, with which he was better acquainted.

It may be urged, *that it does not ſeem likely that the name ſhould be ſometimes uſed in compoſition; and ſometimes ſimple and alone. The author would have been more uniform, if the poems had been genuine.* But this objection is of no weight: and the mode of procedure amounts to no more, than if a writer, in ſpeaking of King Edward the Third, ſhould in one part of his work ſay, that he kept his court at *Windſor*; and in another at *Windſor Caſtle.* The very thing, of which we are ſpeaking, we find done by the author of the Saxon Chronicle. He tells us, p. 105: that anno 918, the Danes landed at Portloc and *Weched.* He afterwards, anno 987, alludes to another landing, and ſays—Weceð-poꝛt þæꝛ ʒeheꝛʒoð: *Weched-port was harried and laid waſte.* Again, anno 997, he tells us, that the ſame people came up to *Weched-port*; and did great miſchief. Hence we find, that the place was called *Weched, Weched-port,* and by our author, *Weched-*

ceſter; according as it was referred to, as a town, a port, or a caſtle. London is ſtiled Lundene, Lundone, Lundenwic, Lunden-burgh, and Lunbenbyrig (Londonbury) in the ſame * volume.

It has been my purpoſe to ſhew from the beſt authorities two things: firſt, that what has been expreſſed *Wedeceſter*, was originally *Wecedceſter*, or *Wechedceſter*: and ſecondly, that *Wachett*, the modern name, muſt in the poem have been expreſſed *Weched*.

BRISTOL.

As Ælla is ſaid to have been the Warden of Briſtol Caſtle, it may be proper to ſay ſomething concerning the hiſtory of this place; and above all to ſhew that it exiſted in the times ſpoken of: otherwiſe our labour hitherto will have been but ill expended. I mention this, becauſe that very celebrated antiquary Lambarde has ſurmiſed, that it was a place of no great antiquity. Now if there were no ſuch place as Briſtol, we may preſume, that there was no ſuch perſon as Ælla: and all, that we have been building upon this ſuppoſition, falls to the ground. The words of Lambarde, which immediately re-

* Saxon. Chron. See alſo Lambarde.

late

late to my purpoſe, are theſe. Briſtow, Venta Belgarum. Lat. Caernante Badon—Brytan :——*There is no mention of it in the Saxon Chronicles, wherby I geſs it to have takinge the begynninge not long before the Conqueſt*, p. 30. The Saxon Chronicles are ſo very few and ſhort, that we muſt not wonder, if ſeveral places of great antiquity are not mentioned in them. But how can this learned man ſuppoſe it to have been rather of a modern conſtruction; if the ancient name were Venta Belgarum, a name mentioned by the Romans? But in reality the city ſtiled Venta Belgarum was Wincheſter: as, I believe, our moſt experienced antiquaries agree. And as to the omiſſion of the name by Saxon writers, it is not preciſely true: for it is to be found in the * Saxon Chronicle: where it is ſaid, that in the year 1088, Gosfrith the Biſhop of Conſtance, and Rodbear, a Norman nobleman, went to Bꝛıcʒ-ꝛtope, *Bricgſtowe*, and ſpoiled it, together with the caſtle. This laſt they made the repoſitory of the plunder, which they got in the neighbouring parts. The ſame hiſtory is mentioned by Simeon of † Durham, and Radulfus de Diceto, and others: but this was after the Conqueſt. Florence of Worceſter

* P. 192.

† P. 632. See Simeon Dunelmenſ. p. 185. l. 36.

ſpeaks of it as a place of ſome conſequence, and a ſea-port, in the time of the Saxon King Edward: at whoſe command Harold is ſaid to have ſet ſail from thence. * De Bricſtowe claſſicâ manu profectus magnâ ex parte terram Walanorum † circumnavigabat. We may from hence perceive, that it was a place of ſhipping in the times of the Saxons. William of Malmſbury, who lived very early, ſpeaks of it as a town of note; and, as we may infer, of ancient repute. In eâdem valle (Gloceſtrenſi) eſt vicus celeberrimus Briſtow, in quo eſt navium portus ab Hyberniâ, et Norvegiâ, et cæteris tranſmarinis terris venientium, receptaculum, p. 283. He ſpeaks of it only as a town, vicus celeberrimus: and ſo does Robert of Glouceſter: but it is in a place, where he is enumerating all the moſt ancient cities of the land, which he ſtiles towns: ſo that under whatever denomination Briſtow may occur, it was of the ſame rank and eſtimation, as they were. Among the ancient places mentioned by this writer, are

London, and Everwik, Lyncolne, and Leiceſtre,
Colcheſtre, and Canterbury, *Briſtow*, and Wirceſtre.
p. 2. l. 21.

* P. 632. See Simeon Dunelmenſ. p. 185. l. 36.

† It is mentioned by Robert Brunne.

Godwyn went to Flanders, unto the erle Baldwyn.
At Briſtowe in tille Ireland ſchipped Harald & Lofwyn. p. 59. l. 1.

Henry

Henry of Huntingdon alſo, enumerating the moſt ancient cities, mentions this as one among twenty-eight. Civitatum autem nomina hæc erant Britanniæ: Kair-Ebranc, id eſt Eboracum: Kair-Chent, i Cantuaria. Kair-Gorangon i Wigornia: Kair Lundene, i Lundonia: Kair-Legion i Leiceaſtria:—Kair-BRISTOW, &c.—L. 1. p. 298. The place is certainly of great antiquity; and was of old looked upon as a city. It was well known before the days of King Athelſtan; for his brother King Edward was ſlain at a place, which is pointed out by its being in the vicinity of Briſtow.

Suthth aday, as the king ſat at ys mete
At Pokelchyrche byſyde Bryſtow—
There one Lof, or Leof,—*a luther traytor*—
Smot the king wyth a knyf in the breſte, &c.

Rob. of Glouceſt. p. 277. l. 9.

After the Conqueſt it was very much improved by different perſons, and particularly by Robert, a natural ſon of Henry the Firſt. This was the perſon, whom the king wanted to marry to Mabile, the heireſs of Robert Fitz Haym, or Haymon; who had been a nobleman of great eſtate in theſe parts. The lady, it ſeems, knew her worth; and refuſed to give her hand to a perſon, who had but one name, and no title. The king promiſed to remedy this default; and to give him both title and name. He accordingly denominated him

him Fitz Roy, and made him Earl of Glouceſter. Robert reſiding in the vicinity of Briſtol, ſaw very ſoon the excellence of its ſituation; and improved it greatly. Of Robert the Father of Mabile we have the following hiſtories in Leland. * Gulielmus Rufus proceſſu temporis dedit honorem Gloceſtriæ Roberto Filio Haymonis cum omni libertate, quâ eum tenuit † Brictricus. Robertus Filius Haymonis duxit in uxorem ſebillam ſororem Roberti Beleſmi, Comitis Salapiæ. Genuit ex eâ filias, Mabiliam, Hawiſiam, Ceciliam, Amiciam.

‡ Anno D. 1102, Robertus Filius Haymonis—Eccleſiam de Theokeſbyri ex novo fecit, et novis poſſeſſionibus ditavit.—Obijt, id. Mart. a°. D. 1107, an. 7. Henrici primi. Sepultus eſt Theokeſbiriæ in domo capitulari. This perſon is likewiſe mentioned by Robert of Glouceſter.

§ Sÿre Roberd le fyz Haÿm, that let vorſt arere
The abbey of Teukeſbury & monekes broghte there.

He alſo takes notice of the king's offer to the fair Mabile of his ſon Robert, whom ſhe refuſed for his failure in point of nobility. She is accordingly made to ſay—

* Itin. v. 6. p. 73.
† Of this perſon I ſhall ſpeak hereafter.
‡ Leland. ſupra.
§ P. 431. l. 5.

Sÿre

* Sỳre Roberd le Fỳz Haỳm my fader name was,
And that ne mỳght nogt be hỳs, that of hỳs kunne nogt nas.
Thervore, fyre, vor Gode's loue, ne let me non man owe,
Bote he abbe an tuo name, war thoru he be ỳknowe.
Damaỳſele, quath the kỳng, thou ſeỳſt wel in thỳs cas,
Sỳre Roberd le Fỳz Haỳm thỳ fadere's name was, &c. &c.

The king aſſures her further to the ſame purpoſe.

† Damaſele, he ſeỳde tho, thỳ loverd ſal abbe an name,
Vor hỳm & vor hỳs eỳres vaỳr wỳth out blame.
Vor Roberd erl of Glouceſtre hỳs name ſal be and ỳs;
Vor he ſal be erl of Glouceſtre, and hỳs eỳres, ỳwis.
Sỳre, quath the maỳde tho, wel lỳketh me thỳs:
In thỳs fourme ỳcholle, that al mỳ thỳng be hỳs.

The author afterwards mentions his great ſervices to the town of Briſtol.

‡ —— The vorſt erl of Glouceſtre thus was ỳmad there—
Roberd, that ſpouſed the rỳgt eỳr, Kỳng Henrỳ ſone,
That vor hỳs gode dede worth, ỳch wene, evere in mone,
And Brỳſtow thour hỳs wỳf was alſo hỳs,
And he broght in gret ſta the toun, as he gut ỳs.
And rerde ther an caſtel mỳd the noble tour,
That of al the tours of Engelond ỳs ỳholde flour.
The priorỳe of Seyn Jemes in the north ſỳde alute
He rerde of blake monckes, as hỳs bodỳ lỳth gute.

* Leland. p. 432. l. 1. † P. 432. l. 15.
‡ P. 433. l. 5.

I quote

I quote from this writer very often: for though he is far inferior to Rowley in rythm and harmony; yet he is often ſimilar to him in language. Hence he may ſometimes be introduced by way of illuſtrating the latter writer: and may ſerve to take off many objections, which are brought againſt him. It has been urged againſt Rowley, that oftentimes, if we only change the ſpelling, his verſes will appear in great meaſure modern; and the language of the preſent times. The ſame will be found in many other writers, and particularly in * Robert of Glouceſter, though older by two centuries.

* The former part moderniſed.

Damſel, he ſaid then, thy lover ſhall have a name,
For him and for his heirs, fair without blame:
For Robert Earl of Glouceſter his name ſhall be, and is:
For he ſhall be Earl of Glouceſter and his heirs ywis.
(*i. e.* aſſuredly.)

Sir, quoth the Maid then, well liketh me this.
In this form (ycholle) *I will, that all my things be his.*
The firſt Earl of Gloceſter thus was made there.
Robert, that eſpouſed the right heir, King Henry's ſon,
That for his good deeds worth, I ween, (was) *ever in mind.* (*i. e.* remembered.)
And Briſtow thorough his wife was alſo his,
And he brought into great ſtead (or ſtate) *the town as it* (gut) *yet is,* &c.

SUM-

SUMMERTONS.

Godwin in the tragedy is made to ſay to his ſon Harold, p. 179. v. 31.

Mie Kentyſhmen, thie Summertons ſhall ryſe.

I have taken notice before, that Godwin was Earl of Kent, as Harold was of Glouceſterſhire; of which county Somerton was the principal place. I mention this, becauſe in all the Daniſh wars, with which this part of England was particularly afflicted; I do not remember, that the name of this place occurs. Yet it muſt have been a town of note, and of long ſtanding; for it ſeems to have given name to the county. This may ſerve to take off our wonder, if the name of Briſtol, which muſt have been of equal * antiquity, is not more frequently mentioned. The people in the paſſage above are called Summertons, from their town, juſt as the Londoners are ſo denominated from their city. In the Saxon Chronicle mention is made, that Summerton, anno 733, was taken by Ethelbald, who was a king of Mercia. But Lambarde thinks, that this Summerton, was a place in Lancaſhire.

* I have ſhewn, that it was numbered among the moſt ancient cities of Britain.

GRONFYRE.

GRONFYRE.

I have taken notice, that in theſe poems there are often alluſions to circumſtances of the times; to remote and obſcure events: to which, one would think, nobody but a perſon of the ſame age could have been induced to refer. And I have ſhewn by many examples, that the tranſcriber, through whom we receive theſe writings, could never arrive at this occult knowledge. There are many dark hints and intimations, with which he was totally unacquainted. From theſe ſecret alluſions I have been induced to think, that ſome of theſe poems were not even of the age of Rowley; but far antecedent: being compoſed by ſome perſon, or perſons, who were not far removed from the times and events, which they celebrate. Such was the Battle of Haſtings, and the account of King Richard in his progreſs to the Holy-land. The article above, upon which I am going to treat, will fully explain my purpoſe.

In the chorus to the tragedy of Godwin, the poet in ſome very fine lines deſcribes a formidable perſonage, and ſays,—

Alyche twaie brendynge *Gronfyres* rolls hys eyes.
p. 195. v. 200.

The term by the expoſitor is explained *a meteor*.

The like occurs in the ſecond eclogue.

Kynge Rycharde lyche a lyoncel of warre,
Inne ſheenynge goulde, lyke feerie * *gronfers* dyghte.
p. 9. v. 45.

It is here ſaid to be derived from *gron*, a *fen*, and *fer*, a corruption of fire. Hence we may perceive, that it is taken for a common ignis fatuus; the ſame, which the country people ſtile a *Will of the wiſp*, and *Jack a lantern*. On this account the expoſitor has been induced to derive it from *gron*, a *fen*. But there is nothing in an ignis fatuus, which agrees with the deſcriptions here given. This meteor, the ignis fatuus, is repreſented as a vague, playful, and innocent light; in which there is nothing terrible or alarming. Beſides a Gronfire is plainly a *ground-fire*, from † *gron*, and *grun*, ſolum. See Olai Verelii Lexicon Sueo-Gothic. It was expreſſed AS. ȝpunð. ſolum. fundum. Al. *grunt*. B. *grond*. See Lye's Etymolog. Ang. Moreover from the compariſon it is evident, that ſomething is alluded to, which was of a very fearful nature, and of an uncommon appearance. Whatever it may have been, we find it again

* It ſhould be gronfer in the ſingular.

† *Gron* ſignifies undoubtedly a marſhy place: but alſo ſolid ground.

referred

referred to, though in different terms, p. 180. v. 50.

Lyche a battent lowe mie ſwerde ſhalle brende.

Now what have we ſimilar, by which theſe deſcriptions can be explained? Nothing, that I am appriſed of, now a days. But I think, that there were of old ſome phænomena, mentioned by the more early hiſtorians of this country, which will illuſtrate the point greatly. In the Saxon Chronicle we read, that in the year 1032, there were earthquakes in many parts of this kingdom: and that a ſad mortality enſued: and, what is very particular, there were ſeen fires of an uncommon appearance, *ſuch as were never ſeen before*. They broke out of the earth in different places, and did a great deal of * miſchief. Simeon Dunelmenſis takes notice of earthquakes happening; and of a like fire appearing a few years after, anno 1048. He ſpeaks of it as breaking out in Derbyſhire, and ſome neighbouring counties; and being of an alarming nature: and he concludes

* Þeꝛ on þiſſum ȝeaꝛ aꝛẏðe þaꝛ ꝑilðe ꝼiꝛe, þe
Nan man æꝛoꝛ nan oþeꝛ, ſꝑẏlc ne ȝemunðe, &c. p. 154.
See alſo Roger de Hoveden, p. 440. Hence we may perceive, that the artificial fire, called *wild fire* at this day, took its name from the ſimilitude, it bore to theſe *battent lowes* and *gronfires*, which broke out in the times ſpecified.

with

with ſaying —villas et ſegetes multas uſtulavit. Hiſt. Ang. Script. Decem. p. 183. It is recorded by John Brompton nearly in the ſame manner. He mentions the mortality, which then prevailed; and the miſchief, which was done by theſe fires. ibid. p. 939. l. 48. The like phænomenon is ſaid to have appeared in the next century, according to Hollinſhed, as well as other writers. He mentions in the reign of Henry the Firſt, that there were earthquakes ſimilar to the former: and that fires came out of the earth with great violence; which could not by water, nor by any means, be * ſubdued. Holling. v. 2. p. 44. Fires of this nature muſt have had a very formidable appearance. And it was not any fenny meteor, but undoubtedly theſe groundfires, to which the poet alluded. It is remarkable, that the firſt appearance of them was anno 1032: and the ſecond, if not a continuation of the ſame phænomenon, was anno 1048: both in the days of Earl Godwin, from whom the tragedy has its name. So that the compariſon, there made, agrees very well with the times; and with the event, by which they were diſtinguiſhed. The laſt inſtance of ſuch fires

* See an account of a ſimilar phænomenon in Germany, mentioned by Tacitus.

was not indeed in the days of King * Richard, who is the perſon concerned in the ſecond Eclogue, yet not ſo far removed, but that there might have been perſons living, by whom they were ſeen. The memory of them could not have been ſoon effaced. Hence it was natural for perſons, who were treating of theſe times, to introduce thoſe circumſtances, which ſo particularly marked them. For the juſtneſs of theſe compariſons was very apparent in thoſe days: which fitneſs and propriety is loſt, if they are introduced at a later ſeaſon, and by another hand. It is from ſuch remote and ſecret references, that I am induced to think, that ſome of theſe poems are of a greater antiquity, than has generally been attributed to them. As to the perſon, who has attempted to explain them, it is manifeſt, that he proceeded merely by ſurmiſe, and conjecture. He was not acquainted with the latent purport of theſe references: and the concluſion, which neceſſarily follows, is, I think, very plain.

* They happened anno 1135, in the laſt year of King Henry the Firſt. See Polydore Vergil. p. 195.

THE

THE ARGENT HORSE.

Earl Goodwin ſays to his ſon Harold, that if he will but wait for a proper opportunity, he may depend upon the people of Kent riſing in arms: and adds—

Agayne the Argent Horſe ſhall daunce in ſkies.
p. 179. v. 33.

There is great propriety in the words here mentioned: for though the White Horſe may have been an emblem among many of the Saxon Kings in their ſeveral principalities; yet it was more particularly adopted by the Kings of Kent. The name of *Hengiſt* is well known to have ſignified an *horſe*: and it is, I believe, allowed, that a white Horſe was the conſtant device in his ſtandard. And he was in this copied by the princes, who ſucceeded him, as long as that kingdom laſted. During the Heptarchy, the kings in other parts had their ſeveral devices. Among the Weſt Saxons mention is made of a Red Dragon, which was borne before Cuthred, in his engagement with Ethelbald, the Mercian, by Edelhun, his ſtandard-bearer. Aciebus igitur diſpoſitis, Edelhun, præcedens Weſtſaxenſes, Regis inſigne, Draconem

ſcilicet aureum, gerens, transforavit Vexilliferum hoſtilem. H. Huntingd. L. 4. p. 341. There are other evidences of the Saxons having often a Dragon in their ſtandard. Matthew of Weſtminſter ſuppoſes the cuſtom to have been tranſmitted from Uther Pendragon. Uther Caput Draconis; unde uſque hodie mos inolevit Regibus terræ hujus, quod pro vexillo Draconem in bellicis expeditionibus ante ſe ſtatuerint * deferendum. p. 94. ad. ann. 498. Camden mentions the like from the authority of Hoveden, p. 24. and ſpeaks of the cuſtom as ſubſiſting in the time of Richard the Firſt. The ſame is to be found in Matthew Paris. Rex igitur—cum ſuis mox progreditur, vexillis explicatis, præcedente eum ſigno regio, nuncium mortis prætendente, quod Draconem vocavit. p. 995. There was alſo a ſtandard called Tuffa, mentioned by Bede, L. ii. C. 16. and likewiſe by Henry of Huntingdon, as carried before King Edwin. Ubique autem ante Regem vexilla geſtabantur, nec non per

* The like hiſtory is given by Robert of Glouceſter.

To riche dragons of gold *he lette make anon.* p. 154. l. 9.

It is ſaid of King Arthur—*he ỳs dragon ỳverd of gold.*

ibid. p. 214. l. 1.

Alſo of Edmund Ironſide.

And Edmond ỳdỳgt hỳs ſtandard—& hỳs dragon up ỳſet.

ibid. p. 303. l. 18.

plateas

plateas illud genus vexilli, quod Romani Tuffam, Angli Tuf, appellant. p. 316. From hence we may perceive, that our poet had many examples of ſtandards: and out of theſe he might have choſen that, which moſt pleaſed him, to embelliſh his poem. But he abides by the truth, and gives to the people of Kent an Argent Horſe ſalient; which was their proper national device, tranſmitted to them from their firſt King Hengiſt.

SAINT CUTHBERT.

King Harold at the Battle of Haſtings ſays,

Godde & Seyncte Cuthbert be the worde to daie.
p. 212. v. 40.

The ſame perſon is mentioned more than once; for his name was held in high eſteem, and reverence. He had been a monk, and afterwards Biſhop of Lindisfarn, and for his piety was ſainted. Out of regard to his memory, a large extent of country was given to the church of Durham; which was called the patrimony of St. Cuthbert. King Egfrid, while Cuthbert was ſtill living, gave on his account much land to the church of York; as we learn from * Simeon Dunelmenſis. This ſaint was particularly honoured

* De Eccleſ. Dunelmenſi. p. 4.

in the north, as being eſteemed the patron of thoſe people againſt the Scots. In proceſs of time the veneration for him increaſed; and his name is more than once mentioned in theſe poems. Hence in the ſecond Battle of Haſtings it is ſaid—

* Adhelm, a knyghte, whoſe holie deathleſs ſire
For ever bended to St. Cuthberts ſhryne.

He is referred to in other parts of the poem.

† Tapre as candles layde at Cuthbert's ſhryne.

Again in another place.

‡ O Afflem, ſon of Cuthbert, holie ſayncte.

Again—

§ Then praid St. Cuthbert, and our holie dame,
To bleſſe his labour, and to heal the ſame.

The reaſon of this aroſe from his being looked upon as a tutelary ſaint by the Saxons in general; and from the particular aſſiſtance, which he was ſuppoſed to have afforded to King Alfred, when he was well nigh ruined by the Danes. The ſtory is told by Robert of Glouceſter, who mentions Cuthbert's appearing to the king the night before the battle of Aſſendune, and accoſting him in the following words.

‖ Ich am, he ſeyde, Cutbert, to the ycham ywend,
To bryngе the gode tytynges, fram God ycham yſend.

* P. 256. v. 391. † P. 259. v. 441. ‡ P. 213. v. 61.
§ P. 231. v. 459. ‖ P. 264. l. 23.

He aſſures him of victory; and as a token, that he may depend upon his words, he mentions a miracle by way of confirmation. Your men, ſays he, are gone to fiſh in a bad ſeaſon; but they ſhall catch ſuch a quantity, as at any time would be ſurpriſing, but eſpecially now, when the rivers are all frozen.

And the mor vor the harde vorſte, that the water ẏfrore hẏs
That the more agen the * kunde of vẏſſẏnge ẏt ẏs.
Of ſerve ẏt wel agen God, and ẏlef me ẏs meſſager,
And thou ſſal thẏ wẏlle abẏde, as ẏcham ẏtold her.

Alfred upon this engaged in battle with the Danes, and gained a compleat victory. In conſequence of this Cuthbert was looked upon as a † guardian angel; and he ſeems to have been eſteemed a particular patron of the Saxon ſoldiers.

The ſame hiſtory is told at large by the Abbot of Rievall; by William of Malmſbury, p. 276; and Simeon Dunelmenſis, p. 71. who wrote the life of St. Cuthbert: and from theſe it is retailed by Serenus Creſſy, p. 753, 4. Aſſer Menevenſis, who lived at the time, mentions, that the battle was fought, divino nutu; but ſays nothing of Cuthbert and the viſion. Nor does the au-

* *i. e.* the nature.

† Iſte Deus Septentrionalium Anglorum tutelaris habebatur. Bale, p. 82.

thor of the Saxon Chronicle take notice of it. However ſuch a ſtory being propagated, got the ſaint great * eſteem: and it muſt not be wondered at, if he was invoked at the battle of Haſtings; as he was ſuppoſed to have been particularly averſe to the Normans. Even after the conqueſt, when William the Conqueror was at Durham, with ſome of his principal friends, and they all doubted of St. Cuthbert's ſanctity; he is ſaid to have vindicated his honour in a wonderful manner. John Brompton, p. 972. Alſo when his church in the ſame place, through ſome tumults raiſed by the Normans, had like to have been burnt, it was in a like extraordinary manner preſerved. Simeon Dunelmenſ. p. 38. l. 43. He died about the year 687.

TURGOTTE.

Oh Turgotte, wherſoeer thie ſpryte dothe haunte, &c. p. 267. v. 591.

This perſon ſeems to have been of note in his time; and is accordingly ſpoken of with great reſpect. He lived in the reign of the

* In conſequence of it, by the liberal donations of ſeveral Saxon princes, the patrimony of St. Cuthbert became very extenſive, as we may learn from Camden, p. 933. One inſtance ſee in Roger Hoveden, p. 658. being a gift of King Richard the Firſt: alſo p. 667.

Conqueror, and of his ſon Rufus; and ſurvived to the fifteenth year of King Henry the Firſt. He was * Archdeacon of Durham, anno 1087; and Prior of the monaſtery in that place: and was invited by Malcolm the Third to be Archbiſhop of St. Andrew's; where he preſided eight years. Among other things ſaid of him by Bale, we have the following hiſtory. † Turgottus Dunelmenſis Monaſterij ſecundus Præſes; Decanus et per diæceſim Primarius, multarum rerum peritus vir erat: et in operationibus externis ſobrius, prudens, et modeſtiſſimus.—Vitâ functus eſt anno a noſtri Meſſiæ nativitate 1115. His great worth was particularly known to Margaret, the wife of Malcolm above mentioned, and the ſiſter of Edgar Atheling: and it was by her advice, that the king ſent for him to Scotland. He muſt have anſwered the hopes, which had been conceived of him by that prince; as we have the following hiſtory tranſmitted in his favour by Hector Boethius. ‡ Poſt hæc Wilhelmus Anglorum Rex Normannus vitâ functus eſt, anno regni vigeſimo, et ſalutis noſtræ ſupra milleſimum octogeſimo ſexto, &c. Eo-

* Simeon Dunelmenſis, p. 53, 54. See Hiſt. Ang. Script. Decem.

† Bale, p. 169.

‡ P. 260, 1.

dem

dem anno Malcolmus, diruto veteri Dunelmenſi templo, novi fundamenta jecit; Wilhelmo ſacræ illius ſedis Epiſcopo, et Turgoto Priore; viro ſanctiſſimo eruditiſſimoque; qui poſt aliquantum temporis ſancti Andreæ factus Epiſcopus, vitam Margaretæ et Malcolmi Regis conſcripſit, vernaculâ quidem lingua, &c. Idem Turgotus, ubi aliquamdiu maximo cum fructu munus ſuum adminiſtrâſſet, vitâ defunctus, et in Dunelmiam delatus, ubi prioratûs officium antea geſſerat, ſepultus eſt.

Simeon * Dunelmenſis has given a much larger account of his life: and ſays, that he was of a creditable family; and intimates, what is very natural to ſuppoſe, that he was no friend to the Normans. He was in his youth one of the hoſtages, which the Conqueror demanded for the ſecurity of ſome of the weſtern provinces; on which account he had been kept under a guard in the caſtle at Lincoln. But he found means to eſcape; and got on board a Norwegian ſhip upon the coaſt; where he for a time hid himſelf. It unfortunately happened, that in this very ſhip went over perſons, whom William had ſent to treat with Olave King of Norway. Turgot was diſcovered: but by his addreſs ſo won upon the people of the ſhip, that they would not ſuffer the Normans to do any

* Simeon Dunelmenſ. De Geſtis Reg. Ang. p. 206.

thing

thing to his prejudice. When they came to land, he was preſented to Olave; and behaved with ſo much diſcretion, and was of ſo much ſervice to the people of the country, that after ſome time he was ſent home loaded with preſents. But encountering with a ſtorm, he was ſhipwrecked, and loſt all his wealth. He upon this took to the church, about the year 1074: and was afterwards admitted as a monk by Aldwin, who had been Prior of Winchelcomb, and was now of Durham. This was performed at Weremouth: ibi *Aldwinus Turgoto monachicum habitum tradidit. About this time there was uncommon reverence ſhewed to the memory of St. Cuthbert; and to his remains, which had been depoſited by Biſhop Aldan in the church at Durham. Neither Aldwin nor Turgot were behind hand in zeal towards this perſon. And Walcherus, who was biſhop, about this time, purpoſed to have built a monaſtery for the ſole reception of the ſaint's body; but was prevented by death, being ſlain in a popular tumult. Turgot having for eight years preſided at the ſee of St. Andrew's, grew at laſt diſquieted, on account of ſome things not anſwering to his wiſhes; and purpoſed taking a journey to Rome for

* Simeon Dunelm. Hiſt. Eccleſ. Dunelmenſ. L. 3. C. 22. p. 45.

the

the advice of Pope Paſchalis. But he grew too weak in body for ſuch an expedition: and having requeſted to retire to Durham, he ſet out accordingly; and ſtopped firſt at Weremouth. Towards this place he bore a great affection: as it was here that he firſt received the monk's habit at the hands of his beloved maſter Aldwin. Here he performed maſs, and then proceeded to Durham. His illneſs ſeems to have been a ſlow fever, which held him for two months, when he died. Intra manus Fratrum ſuorum animam exhalavit, &c.—impetrato munere a Deo, quod ſedulo rogaverat, ut apud ſacrum Cuthberti corpus animam redderet.—Obijt autem anno ab incarnatione Dominicâ M. C. xv. Simeon Dunelm. p. 53. alſo 206, 7, 8.

The following works are attributed to him by Hector Boethius, and by Bale.

The Hiſtory of the Kings of Scotland.
The Chronicles of Durham.
The Annals of his own time.
The Life of King Malcolm the Third.
The Life of Margaret his Queen.

They mention other writings, which are not ſpecified. The Hiſtory of his own time, according to the very learned Mr. Selden, is ſuſpected to be the ſame, which goes under the name of Simeon of Durham; who is ſuppoſed to have unjuſtly taken the honour

of

of it to himſelf, and put it off for his own. Leland mentions, that Turgot was buried with Aldwin, and Walcher, and that the tomb remained in his time. * Sepulchra Epiſcoporum Dunelmenſium in Capitulo.—Turgotus Epiſcopus, Aldunus, et Walkerus in uno tumulo.

BATTLE OF HASTINGS.

I am perſuaded, that the original poem of the Battle of Haſtings, was by the hand of the perſon, concerning whom I have been treating. How far it may have been altered by Rowley, is uncertain. A great change may have been wrought by him: and other alterations may have been made afterwards by the perſon, through whoſe hands we more immediately receive it. Yet after all, there are ſtrong marks of originality; numberleſs curious alluſions; with references to paſt hiſtories; which are many times irretrievable. That Rowley had ſuch a compoſition before him, from whence he copied the principal parts of the poem, ſeems I think to be intimated in that invocation to Turgott, wherein he acknowledges, that at times he had been greatly indebted to him.

* Itin. v. 8. p. 7.

Oh

Oh Turgotte,——
Whereer thou art, come & my mynde enleme
Wyth ſuch greete thoughtes, as dyd with thee abyde,
Thou ſonne, of whom I ofte have caught a beeme.
p. 267. v. 591.

In theſe verſes he plainly acknowledges his obligations to Turgott; though he does not preciſely tell us, how deeply he may have been indebted; nor wherein the obligation principally lay. He however owns, that he had been often obliged. Indeed he was in every reſpect ſo far removed from the perſon, to whom he addreſſes himſelf; and was otherwiſe ſo totally unconnected with him; that all invocation had been idle; and in a manner impoſſible; had not the other led the way; and treated of the ſame ſubject.

There are other reaſons, which lead me to think, that among the Mſſ. of Rowley, there were writings of Turgott; or at leaſt copies from ſome of his compoſitions: and moreover, that they were ſubſcribed Turgottus *Dunelmenſis*. Otherwiſe I cannot conceive, what could have induced Chatterton, who was of Briſtol, to chooſe this title for his own ſignature; and uniformly to ſubſcribe himſelf *Dunelmenſis* Briſtolienſis. This is the title ſubjoined to many of the compoſitions ſent abroad by him, eſpecially to thoſe, which he thought proper to mark as his own. Hence I am perſuaded, that among the writ-

ings

ings in Rowley's poſſeſſion, and afterwards depoſited in Redcliff Tower, there were tranſcripts from the compoſitions of Turgottus Dunelmenſis; and from hence Chatterton aſſumed his title. There were particularly ſome, which related to the Battle of Haſtings. In the Memoires of Sir William Canynge by * Rowley, which, I think, may be proved to be a genuine work, this is plainly intimated. In conſequence of which we find, that the account of this battle is very particular, and abounds with references to ancient and abſtruſe hiſtory. Some of theſe may be explained and authenticated: others are too remote and obſcure to admit of any explanation: yet there is no reaſon to imagine, but that they are well founded. Upon the morning of the engagement, a juſt deſcription is given of the over ſecurity of the Engliſh; who had been waſſailing in drink: and were for the moſt part intoxicated: and on the other hand of the decency, which prevailed in the oppoſite army; and of the religious concern, which appeared in their leader, the Duke of Normandy. The matin-bell and maſs-ſong are very properly remembered. The author takes notice of the brown-bills, in which the Engliſh particularly con-

* See Tracts publiſhed under the name of Thomas Chatterton.

ſided, and of the bows of the Normans; which then ſeem to have been firſt known in theſe parts: and by which the advantage was at laſt gained. They were ſoon adopted by the Engliſh, who in a ſhort time excelled their maſters in the uſe of the long bow: and by means of it obtained many important victories. The author very properly makes the Kentiſh men take the lead in the commencement of the engagement, for the van was always the poſt aſſigned to them in all battles: a piece of hiſtory not very obvious, yet founded in * truth.

The Kentyſh men inne fronte for ſtrengt renowned.
p. 243. v. 112.

The name of Saint Cuthbert being ſo often repeated, agrees well with the times; and with the hiſtory of the perſon, from whom I ſuppoſe the poem to be borrowed. There appears a like fitneſs and propriety in other articles: ſuch as the Duke of Normandy, when he advanced, ſinging the famous ſong of Rowland.

This Willyam ſaw, and ſoundynge Rowland's ſonge,
He bent his yron interwoven bowe. p. 249. v. 241.

All this is conſonant to true hiſtory; and is mentioned by Matthew Paris. † Tum Ro-

* Johannes Saliſburienſis in Polychratico. Rapin. v. i. p. 141.

† Matthew Paris, p. 3.

landi

landi carmine inchoato, ut animos militum accenderet, prælium commiſit. When Harold kills a perſon of great ſtature, and he tumbles dead at his feet; his fall is compared to that of an high building.

So fell the myghtie *tower* of Standrip, whenne
It felte the furie of the Daniſh menne. p. 213. v. 59.

We know, that in the north there were numberleſs caſtles built, to prevent the incurſions of the Scots and Picts. Many of theſe were taken and ruined by the Danes; by whom the provinces in the north were very early infeſted. And though we have no account of this particular fact, nor was it indeed of ſufficient conſequence to be inſerted in hiſtory; yet the town of * Standrip exiſts; and is ſituated not far from Raby Caſtle, in the county of Durham. Here we may reaſonably ſuppoſe, that the above mentioned tower ſtood; till it was undermined and ruined: the overthrow of which might well be recorded by the people of thoſe parts. It was a natural circumſtance for a poet to allude to, who lived in the neighbourhood, and to whoſe church the manor belonged. Of this place we have an account in Lambard, taken partly from the Chronicon Lindisfarnenſe, together with his own comment.—

* It is now called Standrop: and was once a market-town. See Camden, p. 939.

* *After that Aldamus, and his wandringe mates had repoſed the reliques of their great patron, St. Cuthbert, and builded ſomewhat at Durham; then begged they hard, not for cantels of cheſe, as other poore men doe; but for large corners of good countries, as al their profeſſion uſed: and obteyned of King Canute (whom they perſuaded to go five myles of his way barefooted to ſee St. Cuthbert) the manor of Standrop, with all the apendances thearto.— This Standrop is a market town, and had a Colledge valued at* 126 *poundes by year.* Leland ſpeaks to the ſame purpoſe. † Canutus Rex dedit St. Cuthberto Stanthorpe et Raby cum alijs terris. We find the ſame mentioned by Simeon of Durham: Manſionem Standrope cum omnibus ſuis appendicijs libere in perpetuum poſſidendum (dedit Rex ‡ Canutus.)

From theſe particular and pointed references I am led to think, that the poems concerning the Battle of Haſtings originated in the north. They were new modelled by Rowley; and he may for the honour of his country have introduced the Briſtowans, whom he oppoſes for bravery to the Kenters: and he may poſſibly have inſerted thoſe lines about the Hygra and Severn, with other little hiſ-

* Lambard, p. 324.

† Itin. vol. viii. pars. 2. p. 10.

‡ De Eccleſ. Dunelmenſi. p. 33.

tories,

tories, which correſpond well with his ſituation. But ſtill I think it is plain, that he had an original poem from whence he copied: and he points out the poet by acknowledging his obligations.

* Oh Turgotte, whereſoeer thie ſpryte dothe haunte,
Whither wyth thie lov'd Adhelme by thie ſyde,
Where thou mayſte heare the ſwotie nyghte larke chaunte,
Orre wyth ſome mokynge brooklette ſwetelie glide.
* * * * * *
Whereer thou art, come and my mynde enleme,
Wyth ſuch greete thoughtes as dyd wyth thee abyde,
Thou ſonne, of whom I ofte have caught a beeme,
Send me agayn a drybblette of thie lyghte,
That I the deeds of Englyſhmenne maie wryte.

From theſe authorities, as well as from ſome particulars in the language of the poem; I am led to think, that it was of Saxon original. And I am of the ſame opinion about the plays of Godwin and Ælla. Great changes may have been ſince brought about in reſpect to the diction; and a new colouring in many places have been added: yet there ſtill remain ſtrong marks of their great antiquity. In ſhort, I am perſuaded, that Rowley made a large collection of obſolete writings, both in proſe and verſe; which he committed to that repoſitory, from whence theſe poems were taken. They ſeem to have been of dif-

* P. 267. v. 591.

ferent ages, as well as of different parts of the kingdom; from the Conqueſt downward to his own time. And if we may judge from thoſe, which remain, they muſt have been a moſt valuable collection: all which were once in the hands of Chatterton. He would have faithfully produced them to the world. But his veracity being queſtioned, and his pride repeatedly hurt, it produced in him an unconquerable reſentment: and there is reaſon to think, that he conſigned the greater part of them to the flames. Thus have we by ſome very juſtifiable, but unfortunate, ſcruples been deprived of an ineſtimable treaſure.

MATRAVAL and POWYS LAND; alſo HOWEL AP JEVAH.

Mention is made of a perſon of conſequence from Wales, who fought on the ſide of Harold in the battle of Haſtings.

Howel ap Jevah came from Matraval. p. 218. v. 181.

He is in another place ſtiled *the noble Flower of Powys-land*, p. 231. v. 453. and he brought with him a friend, named Merwyn ap Teudor. It is to be obſerved, that Matraval was once a place of conſequence, being the chief ſeat of the princes of Powys: and the country about

about it, which was upon the Severn in Montgomeryſhire, was ſtiled Powys-Land. It is mentioned by Giraldus Cambrenſis, p. 875: and called Powiſia. It is alſo taken notice of by Camden, when he is ſpeaking of the place above mentioned, Matraval, near Lhan Villin. *This Mathraval* (ſo he expreſſes it) *lies five miles to the weſt of the Severn: and (which in ſome degree aſſerts the antiquity of it) though it be now but a bare name, was once the royal ſeat of the princes of Powys: and is alſo noted in authors, who tell us, after theſe princes left it, Robert Vipont an Engliſhman built a caſtle there.—The princes of Powys, deſcended from the third ſon of Roderick the Great, poſſeſſed this country, with ſome others, till the time of Edward the Second.* p. 781. and 783. Powel ſpeaks to the ſame purpoſe, when he treats of Matraval or Powys: the ſum of which is contained in a treatiſe, borrowed from Mr. Humfrey Lhoyd. *The ſecond kingdom was Mathraval.—To this belonged the countrie of Powys; and the land betwixt Wy and Seaverne: which part had upon the ſouth and weſt South Wales.—This part called Powys was divided again into Powys Vadoc and Powys Wenwynwyn.* p. 11.

The name of Howel ap Jevah ſeems to have been ſometimes expreſſed ap Jevaf, and ap Jorveth. It occurs in Giraldus; but is by

him appropriated to a perſon, who lived in the time of King Henry the Second.—Hoelus, Filius Jorveth de urbe Legionum. p. 876.

The name is however to be found in earlier times: for when the Great Howel Dha, Lord of Powys, and King of all Wales, died, he was ſucceeded in part of his dominions by his relation Jevaf. *After the death of Howel Dha, his ſonnes did divide South Wales and Powys between them: and Jevaf and Jago, the ſecond and third ſonnes of Edval Voel, ruled North Wales.—In thoſe daies Jago and Jevaf by force and ſtrength ruled all Wales as they thought good.* Powell's Hiſt. of Wales, p. 59, 60. The ſon of this Jevaf was named Howel ap Jevaf; and reigned after him about the year 980. Of the ſame family was the Howel ap Jevah, *Lord of Powys Land*, mentioned in the poem: as is apparent from that circumſtance, from his being a lord of the ſame diſtrict.

It may be aſked, how it could poſſibly come to paſs, that a prince of this country, with his companions, ſhould be found in Harold's army, fighting for the Saxons, againſt whom they had a national antipathy. We are told indeed, that Howel had killed a man; and had therefore retired. But this would not neceſſarily make him engage in fight; nor be ſo zealous in the Saxon cauſe.

We

We find, that he was ſummoned by Harold; that he came at his call; and was captain of his body-guard.

Howel ap Jevah came from Matraval,
Where he by chance had killed a noble's ſon:
And now was come to fight at Harrold's call,
And now in battle he much good han done.
Unto King Harold he foughte mickle near,
For he was yeoman of the bodie guard;
And with a targyt, and a fighting ſpear,
He of his boddie han kepte watch and ward.
p. 218. v. 181.

This connexion may ſeem unnatural; but the reaſon of it was this. From the death of Howel Dha there had been continual animoſities between the people of North and South Wales; and many cruel battles had been fought. At laſt Griffyth ap Lewelyn, in the time of Edward the Confeſſor, got poſſeſſion of the whole kingdom: and, being elated with his good fortune, he made many inroads into Herefordſhire, and the neighbouring * counties. Upon this the King of England ſent Harold the ſon of Goodwin, who with a fleet of ſhips ſailed from Briſtol; and coaſted the weſtern part of † Wales. And, being joined by his brother Toſtie with a force by land, he worſted

* Powel's Hiſt. of Wales, p. 93, 4. See Matthew of Weſtminſter, p. 427. Simeon Dunelmenſis, p. 185. Florence of Worceſter, p. 632.

† Powel, p. 100.

the Welch in ſeveral encounters, and diſtreſſed them greatly. * Some time after he got together a large power, and entered into South Wales: where he ſo alarmed the natives, that they ſent him the head of their King Griffyth, and ſwore fealty both to King Edward, and to him. † Cui Edwardo et Heraldo Comiti fidelitatem illi juraverunt; et ad imperium illorum mari terrâque ſe fore paratos. We therefore need not wonder at finding a nobleman of Wales attending upon a Saxon King: Howel ap Jevah, mentioned in the poem, muſt have been a deſcendant of Howel Dha, by being a Lord of Powys-Land; and alſo from his name; by which a former king of that family had been called. The ‡ perſons ſubſtituted by Harold as governors in North Wales, after the death of Griffyth, were deſcendants of Howel Dha; ſo that Howel ap Jevah muſt have been their relation, and in the ſame intereſt. And what that intereſt was may be ſeen in || Giraldus Cambrenſis, where theſe perſons are ſpoken of. Hi non Principes, ſed Domini, in ſuâ quiſque

* Powel. p. 103.

† Simeon Dunelmenſ. de Geſtis, &c. p. 192.

‡ Meredyth the ſon of Owen, by ſome ſaid to have been the ſon of Howel Dha, ſucceeded to the government in South Wales; and Blethyn and Rywallon, the ſons of Conwyn in North, all three in alliance with Harold, and appointed by him. See Powel's Hiſt. p. 102.

|| Girald. Cambrenſis, p. 877. notes.

regione,

regione, dicti: ſunt et Regum Angliæ adverſus Cambriæ Principes fere ſemper ſecuti ſunt partes. If they would join with the Saxons againſt their own country; we may imagine, that they would not ſcruple to engage againſt foreigners. Hence it is, that we find two Welch chiefs in the army of Harold.

OSWALD.

The poet ſpeaking of Kenewalcha, the Lady of Adhelm, a noble Saxon, dwells long upon her beauty, and accompliſhments: and deſcribes her perſon and appearance in ſome very fine lines.

Majeſtic, as the grove of okes, that ſtoode
Before the abbie, buylt by Oſwald King.
Second Batt. Haſtings, p. 259. v. 431.

The perſon of whoſe abby the poet makes mention, is the ſame, who for his piety was ſtiled St. Oſwald; and who built the monaſtery of Lindisfarne. He ſucceeded Oſric in the kingdoms of Deira and Bernicia, which were united under * him. They comprehended what was afterwards called the kingdom of Northumberland: which conſiſted of all the provinces north of the Humber.

* Chron. John Bromton, p. 785. Gervaſ. Durobernenſis, p. 1635. Henry Huntingdon. L. 3. p. 330, 1.

He

He was a zealous propagator of Chriſtianity in theſe counties; where it had been in a manner extinguiſhed. This was effected by the help of Aidan, a monk of Scotland; whom he had invited to his aſſiſtance: and by this man and his aſſociates the goſpel was preached again. In conſequence of this in a little time the king is ſaid to have reſtored Chriſtianity throughout his kingdom: and accordingly muſt have built many places of worſhip. Among others was that above mentioned, which conſiſted of a monaſtery and church in the iſland Lindisfarne, of which Aidan was made * biſhop about the year 685. Concerning the fate of this place, we have the following account in Lambarde. After having mentioned the building and eſtabliſhing of the church under Aidan, he tells us, that it was in a ſtate of improvement to the time of Bede: but—*within fifty yeares after the Danes landed in this ile; ſpoiled and pulled downe the churche, and put to the ſworde man, woman, and childe. Notwithſtandinge the Byſhops Sea remayned, and after a while ſuche monkes as eſcaped, aſſembled to the place againe.*

* Concerning theſe hiſtories, ſee Bede, Hiſt. Eccleſ. L. 3. c. v. p. 170. Malmſbury de Pontif. L. 3. p. 275. Henry of Huntingd. L. 3. p. 330. Serenus Creſſy, L. 15. p. 349. Matth. Weſtminſt. p. 115. See eſpecially Simeon Dunelmenſis: de Dunelmenſi Eccleſ. C. 1, 2, 3.

But

But er they had reſted other fifty yeares, they hearde that Inguar, Hubba, Halfdene, and ſundry other Capitaines of the Danes, with an infinite nomber of ſouldiours, weare landed in the realme. Hereupon Eardulf then Byſhop toke up the bodies of Aidane, Cuthbert, and the reliques of ſundry other religious and noblemen, and wandered about a new habitation in ſuche wiſe as in Durham is before declared. (ſee p. 84.) *Thus the Holy Ile, which was the mother of all the religiouſe places in that part of the realme, became a handmayde to Durham, which was nothing but a rude grove. For after the Sea ſettled at Durham, it was made a cell of that riche monaſterye, beinge itſelfe in yearly valew not above 49 poundes,* p. 145.

Though the monaſtery of Lindisfarne is the only one ſpecified to have been built by Oſwald: yet, as he invited monks from all parts of Britain; and they came in great numbers upon his invitation; he muſt neceſſarily have provided religious houſes for their reception. And as all places of this nature upon his coming to his kingdom were in an abſolute ſtate of * ruin; it is natural to ſuppoſe, that many of them were rebuilt by him. In the beginning of his reign he

* Concerning monaſteries in theſe parts, ſee Harpsfield—Septimum Sæculum. De Cænobijs Northumbriæ —p. 105, 6, 7, 8, 9.

gained

gained a great victory over Cadwalla and Penda, at a place called afterwards Heavenfield, near Haguſtadeſham in Northumberland. It is ſaid to have been obtained by a miracle: and the field was denominated Heavenfield from the event. Bede takes notice of it; and ſays, that in after times the brethren of the church at * Haguſtadeſham or Hexam, by which I underſtand the monks of the place, had a cuſtom of going yearly to Heaven-field, and praying for the ſoul of Oſwald. From hence we find that there was a church erected in this place: and Richard Prior of Hexam tells us, that it was dedicated to St. Andrew; and built forty years after that of Lindisfarne. c. 1. p. 290. There was alſo a monaſtery, according to Lambarde, which was dedicated to Saint Peter; and he farther adds, that Hexam was once a biſhop's ſee. p. 143.

I have dwelt upon theſe circumſtances at large: becauſe, though Oſwald did found a monaſtery at Lindisfarne, the ſame as Holy Iſland, yet as it was a place of ſmall extent, and ſurrounded by the ſea, I cannot well ſuppoſe, that the ſtately oaks, mentioned by the poet, grew there. I imagine, that ſome other monaſtery is alluded to: and poſſibly that of Hexam. If the trees ſpoken of were

* L. 3. C. 2. p. 163, 4.

natives

natives of this ſpot, we may conclude, that they were demoliſhed by the Danes in the general deva'ſtation, which they brought upon the northern provinces. Among other places, Lindisfarne, Weremouth, Babbenburgh, and Hexam, are known to have repeatedly ſuffered.

If the words of the poet inſtead of *an abbie, built* BY *Oſwald King*, had been, *an abbie, built* TO *Oſwald King*, the circumſtances might have been more eaſily illuſtrated by hiſtory. For there were many monaſteries and churches erected to his memory, and denominated from him. Such a one was ſituated in Glouceſterſhire, and we have this ſhort account given of it by Leland. *The priory of Saint Oſwald ſtood north north weſt from Glouceſter abbey upon the Severne ripe. Etheldredus, Earl of Marches, and Ethelfleda, his noble wife, daughter to Edward the Firſt, before the Conqueſt, founded originally this houſe; inſtituting Prebendaries in it: and thither tranſlated from Bardney the body of St. Oſwald, King of Northumberland.* Itin. vol. iv. part 2. p. 78. The like is to be found in the Chronicle of John * Bromton. But as moſt of the

* Hoc anno (906) Dux Merciarum, Ethelredus, & uxor ſua Elfleda, oſſa Sancti Oſwaldi Regis, et Martyris, ex Bardenay monaſterio Lindeſeyæ, uſque ad

the references in the Battle of Haſtings ſeem to be taken from the north, I ſhould imagine, that if the abby were built *to* King Oſwald, it was that at Noſthill upon the Went, in the Weſt Riding of Yorkſhire. It may poſſibly have been originally built by him; for it was of great antiquity; and I believe, that the name of the firſt founder does not any where * occur. Thus much we know, that it was repaired by King Henry the Second; and denominated from the above King of * Northumberland. In the grant of King Henry it is ſpoken of under the title of † Prioratus Sti. Oſwaldi de Noſtel — juxta Caſtellum Pontefracti — cum Eccleſiâ Sti. Oſwaldi in Agro Eboracenſi—&c. It is mentioned in the ſame manner again—Eccleſiam Beati Oſwaldi Regis et Martyris in loco, qui dicitur Noſtlâ, &c. And among the donations ſpecified, we find this particular one—et totum NEMUS, quod circa eandem Eccleſiam eſt. † Ex Chartâ Donationis Henrici Canonicis Sancti Oſwaldi. A ſecond donation is ſpecified, where another wood, or part of the ſame, is given by Aulinus de Dacio.—Canonicis Sti. Oſwaldi — nemus et terram,

ad urbem Gloverniæ tranſtulerunt: ubi in ejuſdem Sancti honorem monaſterium condiderunt. Chron. Johan. Bromton. p. 833. l. 39.

* See Camden, Britan. vol. ii. p. 851.

† Dugdale's Monaſt. vol. ii. p. 34. a.

ſicut

ficut jacet ex occidentali parte Eccleſiæ et Stagni Stⁱ Oſwaldi. Again — * totum NEMUS, quod circa eam Eccleſiam eſt, et quod dicitur NEMUS Stⁱ † OSWALDI.

This pious prince, after a reign of nine years, was, anno 642, ſlain in battle by Penda, King of Mercia, at Marsfield near Oſweſtre in Shropſhire. See Bede. L. 3. p. 185. alſo Chron. Saxon. p. 31. Lambard. Hiſtor. Dict. p. 254. 262.

* Dugdale's Monaſt. vol. ii. p. 36. a.

† It is to be obſerved, that the monaſteries of which I have made mention, are ſtiled priories: whereas the convent ſpoken of by the poet was an abby. But this does not amount to much. For many monaſteries mentioned as abbies in one age, are in another ſtiled priories: and the Principal, or Abbot, is afterward ſpoken of as the Prior. Prior pro Abbate crebro occurrit in regulâ S. Benedicti. Du Cange. The Prior of Bath is called an Abbot. Chron. Sax. p. 192. l. 13. Prior of Ely called Abbot. ibid. p. 118. l. 9. Aldwin is ſtiled Prior of Winchelcomb, which was an abby. Simeon Dunelmenſ. L. 3. c. 20. p. 43. Oſney Priory, founded by Robert D'Oiley, by the advice of his wife Edith, for Black Canons, is called an abby. Dugdale Monaſt. vol. ii. p. 136. See alſo the account of the Abbot and Priory of Notlely, and of Cherwode. ibid. p. 340. b. Ela Nobilis Comitiſſa de Sarum made Abbeſs of the Priory of Lacock anno 1326. Dugdale Monaſt. vol. ii. p. 341.

HIBERNIES WOOD.

Majeſtic as Hibernies Holie Wood,
Where ſainctes and ſoules departed maſſes
ſynge. p. 259. v. 433.

We have here another reference to an ancient grove: the ſcite of which, I believe, may be more eaſily determined than the former. I once imagined, that it might have been in the province of Kildare: as this ſeems of old to have been the reſidence of ſome of the Druids: and there was probably in the times of paganiſm a temple, in which the prieſts preſerved a perpetual fire. For when a monaſtery was erected upon its ruins, the ſame rite was maintained: and the nuns of St. Bridget took it by turns, day and night, to attend, that this fire might never be * extinguiſhed. Beſides as Dare and Darch are ſaid in the Iriſh language to ſignify an † oak, I imagined, that the name of Kildare might have a reference to that object. But notwithſtanding theſe appearances, I am perſuaded, that the place alluded to was in a different part of the country; and more

* Giraldus Cambrenſis, p. 729.

† Dearc-abhal, an oak-apple, ſee the Iriſh Diction. of Obrien. An Oak, Darach, Darag. Galic Diction. of the Revd. Mr. Shaw.

eaſily to be aſcertained. The ſacred wood of Hibernia, was undoubtedly that at Dearmarch; where St. Colomb is ſaid, before he paſſed over to Britain, to have founded a celebrated monaſtery; which ſeems to have been the moſt famous of any in Ireland. We have a ſhort, but curious account of it afforded us by Bede. Fecerat autem (Columba) priuſquam Britanniam veniret, Monaſterium nobile in Hiberniâ; quod a copiâ Roborum Dearmach, linguâ Scotorum, hoc eſt Campus Roborum, cognominatur. Ex quo utroque Monaſterio perplurima exinde monaſteria per diſcipulos ejus et in Britanniâ, et in Hiberniâ, propagata ſunt. L. 3. c. iv. By the Scoti the author means the Iriſc people of Ireland: among whom Dear and Dearch ſignified an *Oak*. At this day an oak-apple is Dearc-abhall; as may be ſeen in the Iriſh Dictionary of O'Brien. Bede in the paſſage above makes uſe of the words ex quo utroque monaſterio, becauſe he had before mentioned another religious houſe founded by the ſame perſon. One was, as I have ſhewn, at Dearmach in Ireland: the other in the province of Bernicia, called *Candida Caſa*, on account of the white ſtones, of which it was conſtructed.

Some have imagined, that the Iriſh monaſtery, alluded to above, was ſituated at Der-

rough in Leinſter: but Adamannus and from him * Mr. O'Halloran, inſiſt, that it was in Ulſter, where was the Dear-mach before mentioned. They moreover ſay, that the region was called Daire-Collum-Chille: by which is denoted a place ſituated near the Oak grove of Columba. All this is analogous to the Dear-mach of Bede: which is a compound of Deare, or Dearch, an *Oak*; and mach a *plain*.

We may from hence correct a miſtake in Henry of Huntingdon; who mentions, that this monaſtery was at Armach, conſequently in a different part of Ireland. At leaſt ſo it appears, as the text now ſtands. † Erat autem et aliud monaſterium nobile in Hiberniâ de Armach, id eſt CAMPUS ROBORUM. But this is manifeſtly an error of ſome tranſcriber; who has ſubſtituted the terms *de Armach* for *Dear-mach*, the name mentioned above by Bede: whom the hiſtorian certainly copied.

From theſe data I think we may perceive the true place, to which the poet alludes, when he ſpeaks of the Holy Wood of Hibernia. He adds—

Where ſainctes & ſouls departed maſſes ſynge.

* See the Hiſt. of Ireland by Mr. O'Halloran, vol. ii. p. 79.

† L. 3. p. 330.

The

The awfulneſs of groves and foreſts made people in the times of paganiſm imagine, that they were frequented by deities: and that ſtrange cries and voices often proceeded from them. Virgil takes notice of this notion.

Vox quoque per lucos vulgo exaudita ſilentes
Ingens, et ſimulacra modis pallentia miris
Viſa ſub obſcurum noctis. Georg. L. 1. v. 476.

Livy alſo makes mention of the God Aius Locutius, to whom altars were raiſed on account of a mighty voice, ſuppoſed to have been heard out of the wood Arſia. After Chriſtianity took place, the ſame notions in many parts ſtill prevailed: and theſe receſſes were attended with a religious horror. That this in ſome degree obtained in Ireland, we may infer from the teſtimony of our poet above: and it alſo appears from the hiſtory of Saint Patrick, of whoſe coming the Druids foretold: and infant voices were ſaid to have been heard in the woods of Fochlaidh, invoking him to come among them.

Salutaris erat Hiberniæ
Adventus Patricij ad Fochlaidios.
Audiebat longe vocem invocantium
Infantum de ſylvis Fochlaidh.

It is part of an hymn ſuppoſed to have been compoſed in the year 434, by Fieco an Iriſh * Biſhop, in honour of the Saint above.

* Tranſlated by Colonel Vallancey. See his Iriſh Grammar, p. 167.

GOODRICK'S ABBY.

The poet having compared the majeſtic appearance of the Lady Kenewalchae to an ancient and awful grove of trees, proceeds to deſcribe the beauty of her ſhape by a compariſon of the ſame nature, taken from that ſymmetry and regularity, which elms of a fine growth are known to exhibit. Nor muſt references of this ſort be deemed unnatural. * Theocritus, having likened Helen to a mare, and to a furrow in a ploughed field, enlivens his ſimilitudes by comparing her to a cypreſs. Our Engliſh poet ſpecifies the ſituation of the trees, which he mentions, by ſaying, that they were at the abby of Goodrick. His words are as follow.

† Tapre as candles layd at Cuthberts ſhryne;
Tapre as elmes, that Goodrickes abbie ſhrove.

Of the attachment, which Turgott had to Saint Cuthbert, I have already taken notice: on which account we need not wonder at the repeated alluſions to the worſhip and ſanctity of this perſon. He was Prior of Durham, where Cuthbert was enſhrined, and eſteemed the patron ſaint. From a writer ſo circumſtanced as Turgott appears to have been, theſe

* Idyl. 18. v. 29. † Battle of Haſtings, p. 259. v. 441.

references

references are very natural and proper; which would be unaccountable in another perſon of a different ſituation. The abby, which is afterwards mentioned, and was ſo diſtinguiſhed for its grove of trees, may have been that of Croyland; as the region around it abounded with woods. To this monaſtery one Goodrick belonged, when Inguar, Hubba, and Halfdean, made their inroads into the eaſtern provinces of the * kingdom. Among other places Croyland ſuffered moſt, being reduced by their barbarity to a ſtate of ruin. This happened about the year 870, in the reign of Ethelred, the brother of Alfred. After this misfortune, ſome of the monks, who had eſcaped in the neighbouring woods, returned: and having rendered the place in ſome degree habitable, they choſe Goodrick Abbot. † Eruderato ergo monaſterio toto cum longo, maximoque labore, et de cineribus, ac alijs immundiſſimis ſordibus, juxta poſſibilitatem temporis expurgato, de paſtore inter eos eligendo invicem colloquuntur: celebratâque electione, venerabilis pater GODRICUS omnium conſenſu, licet invitus, et multum renitens, abbas tandem eſt effectus. This may poſſibly be the abby ſpoken of; and diſtinguiſhed by the title of Goodrick's

* Ingulphus, p. 866. † Ibid. p. 867.

Abby: and I have accordingly laid this account before the reader, that he may determine. I muſt own, I ſometimes have been inclined to believe that it was the abby of Winchelcomb in Glouceſterſhire. It was erected anno 796 by Kenelm King of Mercia; and ſeems to have been of great extent; as there originally belonged to it no leſs than three hundred monks. It ſuffered by the Danes equally with that above, but was reſtored in the time of King Edgar, by Oſwald, Biſhop of Wincheſter. One of the abbots of this monaſtery was named *Goodrick*, who lived in the time of Turgott; and had been appointed by Biſhop * Aldred in the year 1054. It is very probable that Turgott was acquainted with this perſon; and he might otherwiſe have a regard for the place: for his beloved friend, and patron, Aldwin, belonged to this monaſtery, before he came into the north: and there is room to ſuppoſe, that he had been a monk under Goodrick. We have the following account of Aldwin's coming to Durham from the writer before quoted. † Qualiter Aldwinus de Wincen-

* See Simeon Dunelmenſis de Geſtis Reg. Ang. p. 187. Mortuo Godwino Wincelcumbenſi Abbate, Aldredus Wigornenſis Epiſcopus — Godricum Godmanni, Regis Capellani filium, loco ejus Abbatem conſtituit.

† P. 43.

cumb

cumb cum duobus fratribus de Eoveſham in Northanhymbriam advenerit: et quomodo ab Epiſcopo Walchero ſuſcepti ſint, et fructificaverint. His temporibus quidam in provinciâ Merciorum Preſbiter, ac Prior, in Monaſterio, quod in Wincelcumb ſitum eſt, habitu et actione monachus, vocabulo Aldwin, habitabat: qui voluntariam paupertatem et mundi contemptum cunctis ſeculi honoribus prætulerat. Hic didicerat ex hiſtoriâ Anglorum, quod provincia Northanymbrorum crebris quondam choris Monachorum, ac multis conſtipata fuit agminibus Sanctorum, &c.: quorum loca, videlicet monaſteria, licet jam in ſolitudinem ſciret redacta, deſideravit viſere: ibique in ad imitationem illorum pauperem vitam ducere. Perveniens ergo ad Eoveſhamenſe monaſterium, deſiderium ſuum quibuſdam fratribus patefecit: e quibus duos mox in ſui propoſiti ſocietatem ſibi * adjunxit. In this manner Aldwin with his two companions came to the province of Durham: and ſettled firſt at Gyrva, or Iharrow. After a

* The ſame hiſtory is given by John Bromton. He ſays that the aſſociates of Aldwin were from Lincoln: and adds Horum nomina fuerunt Aldwinus, Alfwinus, et Reynefridus. Ex his tribus tria ſunt in regione Northumbrorum Monaſteria inſtaurata. p. 973. Eveſham was in Worceſterſhire, in the way of Aldwin to Durham: and this was undoubtedly the place, from whence he had his aſſociates; and not from Lincoln.

while he was invited by the Biſhop to come to Durham itſelf: which ſummons he accordingly obeyed, and was graciouſly received. In this journey he was accompanied by Turgott; who ſeems to have firſt known him at Iharrow; and to have kept up his regard for him ever after. * At Aldwinus de Gyrvenſi monaſterio egrediens, comitem itineris et propoſiti, in CLERICALI adhuc habitu, habuit Turgotum; amore tamen et actu vitam MONACHORUM † imitantem.

From the account above given, it is poſſible that the place called the Abby of Goodrick may have been that of Winchelcomb; of which this Goodrick was Abbot; and to which Aldwin had once belonged: and the trees alluded to muſt have been a grove before that monaſtery. I have mentioned, that Winchelcomb was originally very ample and ſplendid: but in the time of King Edgar it was in a ſtate of ruin, having ſuffered greatly by the ravages of the Danes. It was afterwards in ſome degree reſtored by ‡ Oſwald Biſhop of Worceſter. The poet ſeems to ſpeak of the trees, with which the monaſtery was

* Simeon Dunelm. p. 45.

† He was afterwards ſhorn, and received the monaſtic habit at Weremouth.

‡ See William of Malmſbury, de geſtis Pontif. L. 4. p. 283.

ſheltered,

ſheltered, as *having* exiſted. By which we may ſuppoſe, if this be the place alluded to, that they ſuffered in the general calamity, and were cut down by the Danes.

There is another monaſtery, which perhaps may be thought to have ſome faint pretenſions. In theſe dark reſearches it is not in our power to ſpeak with a thorough degree of certainty. All, that can be done, is to produce the beſt evidence afforded; and to leave the whole to the determination of the reader. The monaſtery to which I allude, was that of * Finkhale, or † Finchale, near Durham. It had its name from one Goodrick, an hermit; who choſe it for a place of retirement, in the reign of Henry the Firſt. He was eſteemed in thoſe days, a perſon of great ſanctity; and his cell was held in uncommon repute. It became afterwards an appendage to the church of Saint Cuthbert; and was erected into a priory by Hugo de ‡ Puteaco; who made Thomas the ſacriſt of Durham Prior of it in the year 1196. The region hereabouts was thick covered with trees; and it was undoubtedly upon this account, that the hermit Goodrick choſe it for his hiding-place. William of

* See Lambarde Topograph. Hiſt. p. 115.

† So expreſſed by Camden, p. 949.

‡ Called alſo Hugh de Pudſey. See Camden, p. 947.

Newbury

Newbury ſpeaks of it, and ſays — * memoratus quidem locus SYLVOSUS eſt: ſed modicam habet planiciem. As the monkiſh life was held in much eſteem, Goodrick in conſequence of it is ſpoken of with great † reſpect; and particularly by Matthew Paris. He ſtiles him ‡ Venerabilis Heremita Godericus: and mentions the place of his reſidence. § Sanctus Godericus apud Finchale vitam heremiticam inchoavit. He adds, that he died, ‖ cum annos ſexaginta in heremo apud Finchale peregiſſet. The conſtruction of this monaſtery was after the time of Turgott: ſo that this reference to the abby muſt have come from Rowley: if this be the place alluded to. He was a prieſt, and an antiquary: and as he tells us, that he was at Durham; he may poſſibly have viſited a place ſo very ** near, and of ſuch reputed ſanctity, as Finchale. In conſequence of this he may have introduced it in the poem.

* Guil. Neubrigens. L. 2. c. 20. p. 170.

† Idem, ibid.

‡ P. 117. l. 30.

§ P. 64. l. 55.

‖ Ibid. p. 119, and 120.

** It is not above two miles from Durham upon the river Were.

FURTHER

FURTHER OBSERVATIONS.

We may perceive from the evidences, which have been produced, how much theſe little hiſtories illuſtrate the poem, though they may not always ariſe to a proof. Many of them apparently point the ſame way; and have a manifeſt reference both to perſons and occurrences in the northern provinces of the kingdom: and by theſe means they ſeem to afford ſome indication of the hand, by which they were originally produced. They likewiſe ſavour much of the age, when monkery was at its height; and when it prevailed ſo far, as that a regular prieſt was ſcarcely held in any eſtimation. I have taken notice of one Adhelm, a noble Saxon; who is repreſented as a particular friend of Turgott. His hiſtory, ſhort as it may appear, will afford a farther confirmation of what I have been ſaying.

Oh, Turgotte, whereſoeer thie ſpryte dothe haunte,
Whither wyth thie lov'd Adhelme by thie ſyde, &c.
p. 267. v. 591.

The perſon upon inquiry ſeems to have been a Northumbrian, and probably of a noble race: the third king of that country was of the ſame name: as was alſo the father of Ida; and other perſons of conſequence. This appears

appears from the Saxon Chronicle, p. 53. and may be likewiſe ſeen in Simeon Dunelmenſis, L. 1. c. 13. p. 7. and other writers. He is repreſented as much devoted to the worſhip of Saint Cuthbert; as his ſire had been before him. This ſire is highly ſpoken of by the poet: and yet his chief merit ſeems to have ariſen from his having beſtowed all his fortune upon the church of Durham, and the ſaint above; and left his ſon to the wide world for ſubſiſtence.

Adhelm, a knyghte, whoſe holie deathleſs fire
For ever bended at St. Cuthbert's ſhryne;
Whoſe breaſt for ever burn'd with ſacred fyre,
And een on erthe he myghte be calld dyvine;
To Cuthbert's churche he dyd his goodes reſygne,
And lefte hys ſon hys Gods and fortunes knyghte, &c.
p. 256. v. 391.

He is ſaid to have had for his wife Kenewalchae, the daughter of Adered; a lady of whom we have ſpoken before; and whoſe excellence the poet celebrates very highly.

He married was to Kenewalchae fair.

Indeed he expends more time in ſpeaking of her appearance and beauty, than is well decent for a diſciple of Cuthbert; and one devoted to celibacy and a cloyſter. But there may have been a reaſon for this panegyric, though not at this diſtance of time to be diſcovered. The name Adered was expreſſed by

by different writers Edered, Edred, Ederedus: and there was a Biſhop of * Durham ſo called, as well as ſome other perſons of note. Kenewalch alſo, from whence the feminine Kenewalchae came, was the name of a † Weſt Saxon king.

E L M S.

As the author mentions the Elms, which grew before the abby of Saint Goodrick, ſome may poſſibly make an objection to this; and inſiſt, that no trees of this ſpecies were in England at the time alluded to. For I am ſenſible, that it is a common notion, that Elms are not indigenous; but have been introduced at *no* great diſtance of time. But the opinion ſeems to me to be by no means well founded: and I think, it may be proved from references made to thoſe trees in hiſtory; and from various places of antiquity, which have been denominated from them. Such are Elmham, Elmſley, Elmhurſt, Elmet, Elmin, Elmeden: to which others might be added of nearly the ſame purport. Hollinſhed wrote above two hundred years ago; and ſpeaking of the various products of

* See Simeon Dunelm. p. 34, and p. 181.

† Matth. Weſtminſt. anno 688, p. 120. Will. Malmeſb. c. 2. p. 13.

the

the iſland, he takes notice of Elms: and ſeems to mention them, as natives of the country. Deſcript. of Brit. vol. i. p. 213. Turner alſo, who publiſhed his Herbal in the reign of Edward the Sixth, ſpeaks of theſe trees, and deſcribes them: but gives no intimation, that they were imported, p. 169. Plot takes notice of two Elms, which were mentioned to have been in two places in Oxford, in the time of King Henry the Eighth, and of his ſon Edward the Sixth. One of which is particularly ſpoken of as an old tree in thoſe times. L. 6. p. 169. Hiſt. of Oxfordſhire. If we allow a century for the growth of ſuch an Elm, we muſt date it from 1440, or 1450.

In reſpect to places denominated from theſe trees, thoſe ſtiled Elmley, and Elmſley, are of the ſame analogy, as thoſe called Oakley, Aſhley, Apſley, Boxley, Berkley. By *ley* is ſignified a land, ground, or place in general. And as *Oakley* denotes a place of *oaks*; *Aſhley*, a place of *aſh-trees*; *Apſley* of *aſps*, &c: ſo *Elmley* and *Elmſley* relate to places, where *elms* grew. Elmham in Norfolk was in the times of the Saxons a Biſhop's See; which was afterwards tranſlated to Thetford. This place is ſaid to have been denominated from *Elms*. It is on this ac-

count by Biſhop Bale ſtiled *Ulmetum*. He is ſpeaking of two biſhopricks being founded at Elmham and Dunwich, and expreſſes himſelf in the following manner.—* At hiſtoria Icenenſis Eccleſiæ, in diviſione Epiſcopatûs Orientalium Anglorum, Bedwinum Epiſcopum Dunwico, urbi antiquiſſimæ, &c.—deſignat: Eccam vero Ulmeto, pago alioqui ignobili. There ſeems to have been an Elmleh in Worceſterſhire, as we find from a Mſſ. quoted by Hearne. † Carta Dimiſſionis—quâ concedit Lyfingus, in Wigorniâ civitate Epiſcopus, &c.—ſuo fideli homini Ægelric 2 manſas in loco, quem illius terræ ſolicolæ Elmlæh vocitant. Elmley caſtle, which ſtood upon the Bredon hills in Worceſterſhire, is ſuppoſed to have received its name upon the ſame account.

There was a place of great antiquity called Elmſley in the North Riding of Yorkſhire; which, as Camden intimates, was ſo named from a wood. It ſtood in a particular dale, mentioned by William of Newbury, as a place of ſolitude and horror. ‡ Camden imagines, that this was the Ulmetum of Bede. In another place || he ſpeaks of Elmet; which

* Balæus de Script. Britan. Cent. Dec. p. 29.
† Hemingi Chartulæ Eccleſ. Wigorn. v. ii. p. 599.
‡ Camden. Brit. p. 912.
|| Ibid. p. 862.

ſeems

ſeems to have been a diſtrict in the Weſt Riding of the ſame province. || *The country for ſome little way about Winwinfield was anciently called Elmet,* i. e. *the grove of Elms, which Edwin King of Northumberland, the ſon of Ella, brought under his dominion. Bede ſays, that out of the fire, which burnt the royal villa Donafeld, one altar was ſaved, being of ſtone, and was kept in the wood Elmet.* It is to be obſerved, that Bede takes notice of two places in this part of the world; one of which he ſtiles * *Elmin,* and the other *Elmet. Elmin* was in the province of Bernicia, where a royal palace was erected in the room of one, which had been deſtroyed; and where Paulinus firſt preached the goſpel.—† ⁊ oðeꝛ þæꝛ ꝼoꝛþon ȝeꝛimbꝛeð on þæꝛe ꝛꝛoþe, ðe man Elmen haꝛꝛ. *Elmet,* called Sylva *Elmete,* was a different place from this, and ſtood in another province. I take this latter to have been the foreſt, ſtiled *Ulmetum* by the Romans: though they are both named from the ſame object, the ſpecies of trees, concerning which we have been treating. Elmet was part of the region, which ſurrounds Leeds in the Weſt Riding

|| Camden. Brit. p. 862.

* Elmin in ſome copies was expreſſed Melmin: but Lambarde obſerves, that it was an error. p. 104.

† Bede. L. 2. c. 14.

of

of Yorkſhire: and according to that curious antiquary Thoreſby, was once of great extent. The limits of it, he owns, could never be truly determined. * *To confeſs*, ſays he, *the truth, all my endeavours and enquiries are fruitleſs in reſpect to the boundaries thereof: places at a conſiderable diſtance being ſo denominated. I ſhall therefore confine myſelf to four places; viz. Berwick in Elmet, Ledſham, Ledſton, and Sherburn in Elmet, which ſeem to have had a peculiar relation hereunto. This tract received its name from the great woods of Elm, that then, and many ages after, abounded here: where doubtleſs was Bede's Sylva Elmetæ. And that ſo great a tract ſhould be denominated from trees, will be no ſurprize to ſuch, as have obſerved, that even whole counties have been ſo: as Berkſhire.* † Ita vocatur a Berroc, ſylva ubi buxus abundantiſſime naſcitur: and Buckingham, Fagorum Villa, *from beech-trees, then called buccan. The Elm was in ſo high reputation among the ancients, that it was ſometimes carried in the moſt ſolemn* ‡ *triumph.*

We are informed by that venerable antiquary § Lambarde, that Weſt Smithfield at London was once called the *Elmes:* at leaſt he thinks, that it is the place, which occurs

* Topog. of Leeds, p. 232.

† Bp. Gibſon's Reg. gen. nom. Locorum.

‡ Bp. Uſher's Annals, p. 608. quoted by Thoreſby.

§ P. 173.

ſo denominated in Matthew Paris. It is of no great conſequence in reſpect to the preſent ſubject, whether this was the identical ſpot ſo called. It is ſufficient to my purpoſe, to ſhew from ſuch authority, that there was a piece of ground cloſe to the city, which had been named from *Elms*. But nothing can prove more ſatisfactorily, that there were elms in ancient times, than the Saxons having a name for them; by which they are ſpecified in their writings. They expreſſed this tree Elm-ꝥꝛeop; and ſometimes Elm; the very term, of which we make uſe at this day. Evelyn mentions in his Sylva, that he had once doubted, whether Elms were indigenous. But we are told in a note, that they were aſſuredly natives: and of this, it is ſaid, we may be certain from there being near forty names of places in this kingdom, which are denominated from this ſpecies of tree. Moſt of theſe names are to be found in Doomſday Book. One of the moſt remarkable places of this ſort was Durham, called *Dun-elm:* whence came the Latin Dunelmum and Dunelmenſis. *Dun-elm* ſignifies *the Hill of Elms:* with which ſpecies of trees the place ſeems to have been ſo occupied, when they came thither to found the firſt church, that it was not habitable: ſo that the people, who firſt purpoſed to ſettle there

there, when they removed from Lindisfarn, had much trouble in clearing away the timber: for the place was totally covered, excepting in one ſmall opening. That they were principally *Elms*, I infer from the name above. Simeon, who was denominated Dunelmenſis from this very place, gives the following account of the tranſaction. * Qualiter locus ille habitabilis factus ſit. Comitans ſanctiſſimi Patris Cuthberti corpus univerſus populus in Dunelmum, locum quidem naturâ munitum, ſed non facile habitabile, invenit; quoniam denſiſſima undique ſylva totum occupaverat. Tantum in medio planities erat non grandis, quam arando, et ſeminando excolere conſueverant—&c. Lambarde ſuppoſes the place to be named from *Dun* and *Holme*; by the latter of which terms is denoted a wood in general: as if the name were properly *Dun-holm*. But Simeon, a far more ancient writer, who was of the place, expreſſes it always *Dun-elm*, and the church, *Dunelmenſis*, from *Dun-elm*. It is likewiſe thus repreſented by the poet Johnſtone.

Arte ſituque loci, munita *Dunelmia*, ſalve,
Quâ floret ſanctæ relligionis apex.

* L. 3. c. 2. p. 28.

REFERENCES

TO

ANCIENT HISTORY

EXPLAINED AND ILLUSTRATED.

PART SECOND.

A LIST

OF SUBJECTS.

BLUE Bruton
Minſtrel's Song
Green Verte
Delievretie
Snette
Aborne
Flemed
Lordynge
Nedder
Bertin
Tinyan
Dynefare
Nyghte Mares
Shoon-pykes
Paramentes
Wooden blue
Hoke-day
Convent of Goodwin
Temple Church
Hiſtory of Will. Canynge
Widdeville
Sir T. Gorges
Sir Ch. Baldwin
Robt. Conſul
Rowley's Tower
Gaunts
Fitz Hardyng
Brithric
Feſchampe
Nigille
Chriſtmas Games
Fortunies
Farther Obſ. on W. Canynge

REFE-

REFERENCES

TO

ANCIENT HISTORY.

THE BLUE BRUTON.

AS the blue Bruton, ryſinge from the wave,
Like ſea-gods ſeeme in moſt majeſtic guiſe,
And rounde aboute the riſynge waters lave,
And their longe hayre arounde their bodie flies.
Such majeſtie was in her porte diſplaid,
To be excelld bie none but Homers martial maid. p. 257. v. 405.

Theſe lines ſeem to have been retouched by the tranſcriber: as I am inclined to think from the miſtakes in the former part, and the modern caſt of the latter. Inſtead of the blue Bruton, it ſhould be blue Brutons in the plural, as is manifeſt from the context. It

is farther to be obſerved, that the ſame word occurs twice within too ſmall an interval to be allowed. We read of a perſon *riſing* from the wave; and in the next line but one we find *riſing* waters. Add to this, that the martial maid of Homer is, I ſhould think, too trite and modern to be admitted as genuine. We may however be aſſured from the nature of the miſtakes, that there was an original, which has been in ſome degree tranſpoſed; and upon the model of which the laſt lines were formed. Perhaps, inſtead of riſyng waters in the third line, we ſhould read ſwiſyng: for to *ſwize* denotes the ſound of waters either running; or otherwiſe put in motion. The author of Pierce Plowman, ſpeaking of a bourn or rivulet, ſays

> As I lay and leanid and lokid on the water,
> I ſlombred into a ſleping, it *ſwyſed* ſo merye. p. 1.

The poet in the paſſage above, is ſpeaking of the fair Kenewalcha: concerning whoſe excellence mention had been made before. He compares her noble appearance to that of the ancient Britons, when they took their paſtime either in rivers, or in the ſea. There is great beauty as well as propriety in this ſimilitude, more perhaps than may at firſt appear: and the lines, as well as the conception, are very noble. It is to be obſerved, that the Britons of old wore their hair

very

very long: and at the ſame time painted their bodies with the juice of an herb, called glaſtum, and vitrum. This afforded a fine blue colour; which by being admitted beneath the ſkin, could never be effaced. Cæſar ſpeaks of their painting themſelves; as alſo of their long hair. * Omnes ſe Britanni vitro inficiunt, quod cæruleum efficit colorem: atque hoc horribiliori ſunt in bello aſpectu: capilloque ſunt promiſſo — &c. The herb, of which they made uſe, is mentioned by Pliny, who ſtiles it glaſtum. Simile plantageni glaſtum in Galliâ vocatur; quo Britannorum conjuges nuruſque toto corpore oblitæ. L. 22. C. 1. He ſpeaks as if the cuſtom had been appropriated to the women, whereas it was equally common, with the men: who indeed are more frequently mentioned for this practice. They had not only † figures of animals delineated with much care; but alſo circles, and lines in all directions. And as theſe were intended by way of ornament, they went in great meaſure ‡ naked, that they might exhibit them in all places. Indeed no people, who paint

* Comment. L. 5. Παντες δε προς τυτοις οι Βρεττανοι χρωνται γλασῳ. φυτον δ' εστι το γλαστον κυανεαν χροιαν απεργαζομενον. Cæſaris Com. Vetus Verſio Græca. L. 5. p. 116.

† Herodian. L. 3.

‡ Ibid.

their

their bodies, are ever closely, or uniformly, vested. As these blue marks, by being thus exposed, must have been liable to dust and soil; nothing could set them off to more advantage, than a person's plunging into the water, and then rising again above the surface. And this was a constant practice of the ancient Britons; who according to Dion * Cassius, were continually seen in groups bathing in lakes or rivers. The whole therefore of this fine comparison is perfectly consonant, in every minute article, to the history of the people spoken of. Kenewalcha, as a beauty, must be supposed to have had fine hair: and all persons of a delicate texture have, from the blueness of their veins, an azure tint communicated to their complexion. Hence nothing could be more just, than to compare a person of this appearance to a blue Briton, emerging from the water, where he had been bathing, with his long hair floating upon his shoulders. These references to ancient history are as just, as they are curious.

MINSTREL'S SONG.

The Minstrel's Song in the Tournament. p. 31.

I come now to the explanation of some other ancient matters in different parts of

* L. 26. p. 1281.

these

theſe poems. In the ſong above, the poet is deſcribing the Norman King William, either the father, or ſon, going to hunt in ſome large foreſt: and makes mention of his knights following him in proper ſtate. He manifeſtly writes with great diſſatisfaction: and deſires the king to purſue his game; to be contented with deſtroying the ſavage herds; and not to embrue his hands in the blood of men. He particularly warns him to abſtain from brother's blood:

Forſlagen atte thie feete lett wolvynns bee,
Lett thie floes drenche theyre blodde, bott do ne bredrenn flee.

The ſong ſeems to be far more ancient, than the poem in which it is introduced. I once imagined, that it alluded to the preparations made by William Rufus, againſt his brother Robert of Normandy; whoſe title to the crown of England had been revived about the year 1089; and was eſpouſed by many of the moſt powerful barons. But the firſt line of the poem ſeems plainly to point out the conqueror: and all the circumſtances muſt relate to him.

William the Normannes floure, botte Englondes thorne.

The time, when the poet makes him ſet out upon his expedition, may have been the particular ſeaſon, when his half-brother, the biſhop of Bayeux, had deceived him; and

was flying out of the land. The king was greatly exaſperated againſt him: nor was it known, how far he might carry his reſentment. It is certain, that he never forgave him. The biſhop had been guilty of cruel extortions; and was got to Portſmouth, in order to fly to Rome. William ſet out in good time to ſecure him; and accordingly ſeized him, juſt as he was leaving the coaſt.

But after all, the purport of the poem may be more general, than I have ſuppoſed. It may poſſibly relate to the Engliſh at large; who had very good reaſon to be ſtiled the *brethren* of the Normans, and particularly of the Conqueror; being in many reſpects allied to them. The king had founded his pretenſions to the crown upon ſuch relation. The propriety of the admonition about blood and cruelty is in either reſpect the ſame.

* Forſlagen wyth thie floe lette wylde beaſtes bee,
Feeſte thee upponne theire fleſhe, doe ne thie Bredrenn flee.

This ſort of requeſt is repeatedly made: and I ſhould think, that it related to the arbitrary proceedings of the conqueror; and to his acts of cruelty towards the people; who were irritated upon that account, and often ſhewed their reſentment. It is to be obſerved, that towards the latter part of his reign, the king grew very ſuſpicious and ſevere. There had

* P. 34. v. 83.

been

been ſome conſpiracies againſt him: and in conſequence of them he had alienated the lands of many perſons; and had proceeded to the lopping off of limbs, and putting out the eyes of thoſe, whom he eſteemed his enemies. Numbers likewiſe had been put to death. His fondneſs for hunting was carried to a great exceſs; which he continually proſecuted in the foreſt of *Itene*, in Hampſhire; called afterwards the *New Foreſt*. The making of this foreſt was looked upon as an act of great injuſtice, and even ſacrilege; on account of the many pariſhes deſolated; and churches in conſequence of it ruined. The Engliſh writers ſhew great ſeverity upon this head; and the words of Matthew Paris are very remarkable.—Amabat enim feras Rex ferus, quaſi pater ferarum. p. 12. Theſe circumſtances ſeem to be covertly alluded to in the poem. The king, it is true, at his ſetting out, is repreſented as gallantly equipped for the chaſe: yet the writer ſhews great diſſatisfaction and bitterneſs through the whole. It was natural for the Engliſh to diſlike a foreign prince; by whom they had been kept in ſuch an abject ſtate of dependance: and from whom they had experienced ſo many inſtances of cruelty. And though the poet deſcribes him in truly royal ſtate; yet he makes him attended in his progreſs

greſs with every thing frightful and ominous. With this clue, I think, the ſong of the Minſtrel may be eaſily underſtood. In the following lines, which are remarkably fine, the king is deſcribed as taking his way through a dark foreſt, in order to begin the chaſe.

Throwe the merke ſhade of twyſtende trees he rydes,
The flemed owlett flapps her eve-ſpeckte wynge;
The lordynge toade ynn alle hys paſſes bides;
The berten neders att hymm darte the ſtynge:
Styll, ſtyll he paſſes onn, hys ſtede aſtrodde,
Ne hedes the daungerous waie, gyff leadynge untoe bloodde.

The concluſion is to the ſame purpoſe, and the poetry very fine.

Wyth murtherr tyred he ſleyngs hys bowe alyne;
The ſtagge is ouchd wythe crownes of lillie flowers:
Arounde theire heaulmes theie green verte doe entwyne
Joyous & revelous in the green woode bowers.
Forſlagen wythe thie floe lette wylde beaſtes bee,
Feeſte thee upponne theire fleſhe: doe ne thie Bredrenne flee.

When I conſider the ſeverity, with which theſe lines are attended; and the bitterneſs, which is every where to be diſcovered; I am induced to believe, that the whole proceeded from ſome perſon, who thought himſelf and his friends particularly aggrieved. Now, though the whole nation ſuffered greatly from the tyranny of the Conqueror; yet the people of the north experienced more than others

his

his hoſtile purpoſes, and reſentment. On which account I am perſuaded, that this ſatire originated in thoſe parts; and that it was the compoſition of Turgott, the Prior of Durham. It is well known, that the king had been greatly exaſperated againſt the people of this province: and his brother the Biſhop of Bayeux, whom he ſent to quiet ſome diſturbances in theſe parts, laid waſte moſt of the country, which lay north of the Humber. The province of Durham in particular was reduced to a wilderneſs: ſo that for the ſpace of nine years, it lay in a manner deſolated. Odo Baiocenſis Epiſcopus, qui tunc a Rege ſecendus fuerat, et multi cum eo Primates Regni, cum multâ armatorum manu Dunelmum venerunt; et dum mortem Epiſcopi (Walcheri) ulciſcerentur, terram pere totam in ſolitudinem redegerunt: miſeros indigenas, qui ſuâ confiſi innocentiâ domi reſederant, pleroſque ut noxios aut decollari aut membrorum detruncatione præceperunt * debilitari. The Northumbrians had confederated with the Danes, and incurred the Conqueror's diſpleaſure greatly: ſo that at laſt he marched againſt them in perſon. † Quod

* Simeon Dunelm. L. 4. C. 24. p. 48.

† Idem. de Geſt. Reg. Ang. p. 198, 9. See John Bromton: ad annum 1068. p. 966. Dunelmenſis Eccleſia facta eſt quaſi ſpelunca latronum.

ubi

ubi Regi Willielmo innotuit, exercitu mox congregato in Northynbriam efferato properavit animo, eamque per totam hiemem devaſtare, homineſque trucidare, et multa alia non ceſſabat agere. For ſixty miles between York and Durham, they did not leave an houſe * ſtanding. Upon this a † famine enſued, ſo that people are ſaid to have died in heaps. They did not ſpare the churches: and at Durham the king is ſaid to have violated the ſhrine of St. Cuthbert: and was only withheld by a miracle from offering the greateſt indignities. The monks at laſt deſerted the cathedral, and carried the body of their ſaint away; ſecreting it in different ‡ places. All theſe acts of cruelty and violence muſt have rendered the Conqueror abhorred by the people, who had ſuffered ſo ſeverely from him: and as nothing could exceed their zeal for St. Cuthbert, the violation of his church and ſhrine muſt have neceſſarily been held in the greateſt abomination. But indeed the ſlaughter of ſo many innocent perſons muſt have made the Conqueror's name deteſtable to the people of Durham. Hence I am led to think, that

* Malmſbury, p. 103.

† Simeon Dunelm. p. 42. Roger Hovedon, p. 451.

‡ Sim. Dunelm. p. 38. l. 43. John Bromton, p. 972. l. 43.

this

this poem was written from the heart by one, who had ſuffered from theſe acts of violence: and that the author of the compoſition was Turgott, the Prior of that place; who was afterwards archbiſhop of St. Andrew's. He muſt at that time have been upon the ſpot; and conſequently a witneſs to the deſolation of his country: and to all the miſeries, and indignities, which enſued. He muſt accordingly have felt for the church, to which he belonged; and for the people, who ſo grievouſly ſuffered. Hence aroſe that ſeverity in the poem, and the particular admonition to the mighty hunter—

Forſlagen wyth thie floe lette wylde beaſtes bee,
Feeſte thee upponne theire fleſche: doe ne thie Bredrenne flee.

The language is far more ancient, than that which prevailed in the time of Rowley: though perhaps modified by him.

GREEN VERTE.

It may not be improper to introduce a few remarks upon ſome of the terms in this poem; as they deſerve our attention. I will begin with a part of the laſt ſtanza, as it was ſo lately under the eye of the reader. The poet here takes notice, that at the end of the

chaſe, the perſons, who have been concerned in it, now enjoy a repaſt; and adorn their heads with a ſort of garlands, which are compoſed of *green verte.*

Arounde theire heaulmes theie *green-verte* doe entwyne.

We have here two words, which ſeem to be nearly of the ſame purport. This has led me to imagine, that what is expreſſed *green-verte*, ſhould be rendered *green worte*; or rather *gron worte*, the ſame as *ground* worte, from gron and grun, *ſolum*. But it may be ſaid, that the ſcene of the poem is in a foreſt: and *verte* is a well known foreſt term of great antiquity, and occurs in all the foreſt laws, and charters. It was in Latin expreſſed *viride*; and is to be found in the charter of liberties granted 1215 by King John. * Nullus Caſtellanus vel alius teneat placitum de foreſtâ, ſive de *viridi*, ſive de venatione: ſed quilibet foreſtarius de feudo attachiet placita de foreſtâ, tam de *viridi*, tam de venatione. Again in Additamentis. † Inquiratur etiam, qui fecerint, vel facere conſueverint, vaſtum vel deſtructionem de viridi, vel de venatione. Upon this the author of the gloſſary affords us the following obſervations. Per *viride* intelligunt leges foreſtæ noſtrates, quicquid frondes fert, aut folia viridia, ubi paſcantur,

* Matt. Paris, p. 260. l. 57. † P. 154.

aut

aut ubi tegantur cervi damæque. This word viride was in Engliſh expreſſed verte: and became in common uſe with people in all foreſts and chaſes. It ſignified, we find, both the graſs of the ground, and the leaves of trees and ſhrubs: in ſhort, whatever ſerved for browſe and fodder, and for ſhelter to the deer. Thoſe, who had the care of theſe things intruſted to them, were ſtiled *Verderers*: a name in uſe at this day; and very well known. The perſon above mentioned takes farther notice in the ſame gloſſary of the different ſorts of *verte*. He firſt informs us, that the term is the ſame, as the French verd and the Latin viride: and among the different ſorts of verdure he ſpecifies *Over-vert*, *neather-vert*, and *green-hue*. As my notion about the antiquity of the poem is particular, it may be objected, that the foreſt laws are more recent, than the times, when I ſuppoſe the original to have been planned. It is very true: but the terms were many of them antecedent to thoſe laws. Verte, however expreſſed, is a pure Saxon word, pipt, *herba*: and over-verte, neither-verte, and green-hue, are all of the ſame original: all true Saxon terms; and prior to the Norman laws. In ſhort, the ancient term has been confounded with the more modern: for green-verte in the common acceptation is redundant;

dundant; each term being of the ſame ſignification. This makes me ſuſpect, as I before intimated, that what is rendered green-verte, was in the original green-worte, or gron-worte, analogous to ground-wort: by which is ſignified the herbs and flowers of the field, with which the king and his company crowned themſelves.

DELIEVRETIE.

Williamm, the Normannes flowre, botte Englondes thorne,
The manne, whoſe myghte *delievretie* hadd knite,
Snette oppe hys long ſtrunge bowe, & ſheelde aborne. p. 31. v. 43.

Delievretie ſeems to have been an ancient term, from the verb delivrer, (affranchir) and ſignifies, activity, freedom, dexterity, and addreſs. It occurs differently modified in ſeveral old authors. It is ſaid of a perſon in the Mſſ. K. C. C.

* *Deliverly* was he dyt uch day at morrwe.
† *Deliverly* on the morrwe the day gan dawe.
‡ A douti man and *deliver* in dedus of armes.

* P. 11. † P. 49. ‡ P. 53.

The

The like is to be found in the verſion of Gawin Douglas.

* The zounkeris tho of Troy and Sicilly
Gan ſtertin al on fut *deliverly*.

Deliverly, *nimbly*, *cleverly*, from deliver, *nimble* agilis: quæ vox nondum prorſus exolevit. Gloſſ. ibid. By *the man, whoſe myghte delievretie had knite*, we are to underſtand, *the perſon, to whoſe proweſs activity and dexterity were ſuperadded*. To knit is to *join*.

† I wol ben his, to whom that I am knit.

S N E T T E.

The word Snette in the notes is interpreted *bent*: but people ſeldom bent their bows, before they got to the place, where they were to uſe them. The word ſeems to be of quite a different purport. It is certainly a provincial term for ſnatched: juſt as ſcrat is often uſed for ſcratched: fet for fetched. Evander when he is informing Eneas of the ancient ſtate of Italy, mentions the ſavage life of the firſt inhabitants: who

Thare fude of treis did in woddis *fet*.
Gawin Doug. l. 8. p. 252.

* P. 142. l. 50. † Chaucer. v. 11298.

The ſame term is uſed by Robert of Glouceſter.

Heo ſtode, & bi thogt hem beſt, & cables *fette* ynow.
i. e. fetched. p. 148. l. 5.

Analogous to the word ſnette, we find *ſtret* uſed by our author for *ſtretch*: p. 87. v. 154.

And ſtret and engyne alle the human witte.

So twitte is uſed in the firſt Eclogue for twitch.

From her galled necke did *twitte* the chayne away.

The meaning of the lines, about which we are concerned, ſeems to be this. William, the pride of the Normans, but the bane of England; the man, whoſe proweſs was joined with addreſs, and activity, ſnatched up his long bow, and called his knights to attend him to the chaſe.

A B O R N E.

Snette oppe his long ſtrunge bowe & ſheelde *aborne*.

This is interpreted—*burniſhed*: but I do not ſee, why it is taken for a participle. His ſhield *aborne* may poſſibly mean nothing more than his *awburn* ſhield. *Awburne* from *awbour*: French: brown of a tan colour. Johnſon's

Johnſon's Dict. Nothing is more common than to meet in old poems with accounts of *brown* bills, *brown* blades, and *brown* armour.

There dwelt a Lombard in the town,
A doughtie man of great renowne,
And he gathered a great hoaſt,
And rode foorth with great boaſt;
And in his hand a good fauchowne,
That was made of ſteele *browne*.
The Hiſt. of Bevis of Hampton.

Thus it is ſaid of Sir Lionel in la Mort d'Arthure—

Sir Lyonel he gonne to tene,
And haſtily he made hym bowne;
To Launcelotte with herte kene
He rode with helme and ſword *browne*.

This may be the meaning of the word: but I have ſometimes thought, that the line was not truly copied: and, that inſtead of—

hys long-ſtrunge bow, & ſheeld *aborne*,

we ſhould read—

hys long ſtrunge bow, & ſheeld, and *borne*.

When a perſon was preparing for the field, or the liſts, the things, with which he was generally preſented by his ſquire, or by the herald, were his ſpear, his ſhield, and his born or byrn: which laſt was a ſort of corſlet. This is ſhewn manifeſtly by our author a few pages before; where the herald ſays, that he

muſt go to the knights, who were to engage, and preſent them with theſe things.

I ſonne of honnoure, ſpencer of her joyes,
Muſt ſwythen goe to yeve the ſpeeres arounde,
Wyth adventayle, and *borne*. p. 29. v. 11, 12.

Here inſtead of the ſhield he mentions the adventayle, or helmet; and then ſubjoins the *borne*. Of the adventaile I have ſpoken before. What is here called a borne, is ſometimes expreſſed burn, and byrn, from the Saxon Bepn-Thorax. Byrn, Byrn-homa; *lorica*. Byrnpiga, *loricatus miles*. See Sax. Dict. by Lye and Manning, Appendix. In G. Douglas it is expreſſed *Birnye*.

He in his breiſtplait ſtrang, & his *birnye*,
Ane ſouir ſwerd beltis law doun by his the.
p. 239. l. 44.

It is in the gloſſary expounded—*a kind of corſlet, or brigandine uſed in old time: from the old French brugne or brunie: thorax, lorica.* See Du Cange—Byrn, and Byrnan: alſo Brunea, and Bronea. He interprets it: lorica. Gloſſ. Lat. Theotiſc. Thorax: militare ornamentum, lorica, brunea. Bronea. Tabul. Ceſaurienſe: cum cæteris debitatibus, et caballis, et bronea, et cætera arma. As the Conqueror was going only to the chaſe, and not to battle, we find him furniſhed with a bow inſtead of a ſpear, as being more neceſſary for that purpoſe. This bow is ſtiled

—his

—his long *ſtrunge bow:* which I ſuſpect to be a falſe reading. People going to the field did not ſtring their bows at a diſtance: but waited till they came to the place of operation. I ſhould therefore think, that the original was — his long *ſtronge* bow; or *ſtrange* bow, which is of the ſame purport, and analogous to the *breiſtplate ſtrang*, quoted above from G. Douglas.

F L E M E D.

The *flemed* Owlet flapps her eve-ſpeckte wynge.

This by the tranſcriber is interpreted in the notes — *frighted.* But the true meaning is the *wandering*, the *fugitive*, owl. The word is derived from the Saxon ꝼlema, and ꝼlẏma, profugus. See Sax. Dict. by Lye and Manning. To *fleme* is to *drive* away. Ꞓnuꞇ cẏnȝ aꝼlẏmꝺe uꞇ Æꝺꝼıȝ æþelınȝ. Chron. Sax. p. 151. l. 8. In the verſion of Gawin Douglas, Æneas ſpeaks to Pallas, the ſon of Evander, concerning the Trojans, who were driven from their country.

Quos illi bello profugos egere ſuperbo.

Quhilk flemyt of our realme newly agane
Unto the King Evander al ſeik we.

L. 8. p. 244. l. 23.

Under

Under the ſame acceptation it occurs in David Lyndſey.

> Abel lay ſlane upon the ground :
> Curſt Cain *ſlemit*, and vagabond.

Flemed, *baniſhed*. While he flemed was, —*While he was baniſhed*. Gloſſ. to Rob. of Glouceſter. In the laws of King Ethelred, No. 13, it is ſaid, Et omnis flima ſit flima in omni terrâ, qui fuerit in unâ. Johan. Bromton, p. 897. Flima, vox Saxonica, fugitium ſignificat. Gloſſ. In the ſtorie of William Canynge, the river Severne is ſaid to roar *ſlemie* oer the ſands, p. 278. v. 12. This *ſlemie* is the ſame as the Saxon *ſlema* above : by which is ſignified *vagabundus*.—*The wandering ſtream* roared, as it paſſed onward. From hence we may perceive, that when the tranſcriber could obtain intelligence concerning the purport of any word, he very prudently adopted it. But when no ſuch aſſiſtance could be procured, he proceeded by gueſs : forming his opinion by the context. By theſe means we are often treated with conjectures, which are very remote from the truth. It likewiſe ſhews, that he had not opportunities of applying uniformly to Dictionaries : for this word is to be found in Kerſey ; who explains flemed by—*daunted* or *frighted*. But even Kerſey does not come up to the truth. And here it may be obſerved

in reſpect to theſe Etymologiſts, Kerſey, and Skinner: that we may ſafely truſt to them for their authority about any ancient term; but concerning the purport of it, as explained by them, we have often reaſon to doubt.

LORDYNGE.

The *lordynge* toade ynn all hys paſſes bides.

There ſeems here to be another great miſtake of the tranſcriber; who interprets *lordynge toade*, by the *toad ſtanding upon his hind* * *legs*. But who ever ſaw a toad in this ſtrange attitude? By *lordyng* is ſignified *dull* and *heavy*; any thing ſtupid, and that will not get out of one's way. It was more generally expreſſed *lourdan*: and we accordingly read in Lye's additions to Junius—*lourdan*, bardus, ſtupidus, hebes. G. lourdant. B. loerd. It is ſtill uſed in ſome parts of England; and expreſſed, *lourdy*. Accordingly Ray ſays, Lourdy, ſluggiſh, from the French *laurd*, ſocors, ignavus. † Lourdant, lourdin, bardus. Eaſt and South country words. p. 105. When then the poet ſays

The lordynge toade ynn alle hys paſſes bides,

* He found this probably in Skinner.

† Lordant, or Lordane, *a dull heavy fellow*. Kerſey.

the

the meaning is, that the *dull, heavy, lumpiſh* toad abode in every place, through which the king paſſed. It was conſtantly in his way, whereſoever he turned.

BERTEN NEDERS.

The berten neders att hymm darte the ſtynge.

The viper or adder was by the Saxons ſtiled neddꝑ, and neddeꝑ: and by the Engliſh writers, who came after them, nedder. Robert of Glouceſter, ſpeaking in praiſe of Ireland, ſays—

For *nedres* ne other wormes ne mow ther be noght,
And gef he beth thider bi cas from other londes y broght
Heo dyeth, &c. p. 43. l. 11.

The ſame is to be found in Chaucer. v. 9660.

Like to the *nedder* in boſom ſlie untrewe.

A nedder, coluber. Northumb. Ray's county dialects. Mr. Tyrwhitt in his learned obſervations upon Chaucer obſerves, that the word Newt has certainly been formed by a corruption from *an ewt* or eft: and he adds —*perhaps* NEDDER, *n: Saxon, may have been formed in the ſame way from* AN ADDER. The

* Mr. Tyrwhitt's Gloſſ. to Chaucer. v. 5. p. 138.

word

word in Teutonic is adder, without the initial n: which makes his opinion highly probable.

B E R T E N.

This word in the notes is interpreted *poiſonous:* but I imagine, that the tranſcriber proceeded here, as in other inſtances, by gueſs; thinking, that it was an epithet the moſt applicable to a ſerpent. *Bertin* is probably a contraction of *beretin*, and relates to colour. It denoted any thing which had a dark gray; or rather an obſcure and diſagreeable brown appearance. Berretinus, cinereus; leucophæus. Du Cange. He quotes for it a paſſage, containing the words—tunicas—non *herretinas*, aut griſeas, et ad nigredinem tendentes. It was the ſame colour, as the Grecians ſtiled leucophæus, which is mentioned by Pliny: and is thus interpreted by Harduin. Leucophæus color fuſcus eſt, mixtuſque ex albo nigroque. L. 24. p. 344. notæ Harduini.

T Y N Y A N.

The poet, ſpeaking of Sarum and Stonehenge, ſubjoins the following account of it, p. 224. v. 305.

Where

Where auncient Bardi dyd their verſes ſynge
Of Cæſar conquered, and his mighty hoſte:
And how old Tynyan, necromancing kynge,
Wreck'd all hys ſhyppynge on the Brittiſh coaſte,
And made him in his tattered barkes to flie,
Till Tynyans deth and opportunity.

Cæſar gives an account of two ſtorms, by which his ſhipping ſuffered greatly. The latter was of moſt conſequence: as his whole fleet was greatly damaged; and forty ſhips were intirely loſt. Thus far the poet's account is conformable to hiſtory: and the precipitate retreat of Cæſar in his *tattered barks* ſeems likewiſe to be well founded. See Cæſar's Com. L. 4, and 5. We are alſo informed by our own hiſtorians, that there was ſuch a perſon as Tynian; who by Matthew of Weſtminſter is ſtiled *Tennancius:* p. 37. by Caxton *Tenancius:* Chron. Fol. 176. and he is mentioned by Fabian and others. Geoffry of Monmouth, ſpeaking of the firſt encounter of Caſſibelane with the Romans, ſays, aderant etiam duo nepotes ejus, Androgeos, et *Tenuancius*, Dux Cornubiæ. C. 3. p. 24. He is ſaid to have been the ſon of King Lud; and to have reigned himſelf after the death of Caſſibelane. Thus far therefore, we find hiſtory to be conſonant to the poet's account, that there was ſuch a perſon as Tynian: that he lived at the time of the invaſion of the Romans: and that he was a king

king of the country. But that he was at that time an old man, and that by his magic the ſtorm was raiſed, by which the Roman navy ſuffered, does not agree with the commonly received accounts. It is an hiſtory probably taken from a romantic deſcription by ſome bard of Wales. All the Britiſh accounts of theſe times are extravagant and fabulous; and never uniformly related.

DYNEFARE.

In the Battle of Haſtings the poet mentions a noble Saxon, who was in ſome degree related to a prince of this title.

> Yonge Egelrede, a knygte of comelie mien,
> Affin'd unto the kynge of *Dynefarre*.
>
> p. 216. v. 131.

It may poſſibly have puzzled many people, to find out, who this prince was; and where his territories lay. I muſt confeſs, that I was for ſome time in a ſtate of ſuſpence; before I could recollect the true hiſtory of the place, from whence this king is denominated: looking round at a great diſtance, for that, which was more immediately under my eye. What the poet expreſſes *Dynefarre* was the ſame, which was more truly rendered *Dynevore*; and by the Welch *Dinevour*. It was

in

in South Wales; and one of the three places of royal reſidence, where the Welch monarchs kept their court. This we may learn from Giraldus Cambrenſis, who ſpecifies theſe three places. Tres enim fuerant Walliæ totius Curiæ principales: *Dinevour* in Sudwalliâ:—Aberfraw in Norwalliâ; Pengwern in * Powiſiâ. p. 884. As it was a place of ſuch eminence, it gave name to the whole region, of which it was the capital.

Powel having given a deſcription of the two northern principalities of this country, adds. —*Now remaineth the laſte kingdome of Wales, called Dinevowr; which although it was the greateſt, yet was it not the beſt, as Giraldus witneſſeth: cheeflie bicauſe it was much moleſted with Flemings and Normans; and alſo that in divers parts thereof the lords would not obey their prince,* &c. p. 17. In other reſpects he ſpeaks of it as a fine country.

It is ſaid, that Roderick the Great, about the year 870, firſt divided Wales into three kingdoms: though many think, that it was from the beginning parted out in this manner. However Powel in his account abides by the former opinion: and gives us the following hiſtory of the event. He tells us,

* He ſays the ſame in another place. Fuerunt enim antiquitus tres principales in Walliâ Curiæ. *Dinewor* in Sudwalliâ, &c.—p. 847.

that

that Rhoderick before his death divided the kingdom in the manner before mentioned; and that he gave Aberfraw, or North Wales, to his eldeſt ſon Anarawd: Cadelh, the ſecond ſon, had Dinewour, and South Wales; and Merwyn, the third, had the country of Powys. But after his death, Cadelh ſeized upon Powys-land and Mathraval; which he kept from the right heirs by force. Powel, p. 35. Dinevour, or South Wales, conſiſted properly of ſix counties: and ſometimes, by the addition of Radnorſhire, of ſeven. Of this we are informed by the ſame writer, in his extract from Humfrey Lhoyd. *Theſe ſix ſhires being ſubject to the territorie of Dynevowr with Radnorſhire, which was belonging to Mathraval, are now commonlie called South Wales: which countrie is both great and large, with manie faire plaines and vallies for corne; high mountaines and rocks; full of paſture for cattel: great and thicks woods, with forreſts; and parks for red deere and fallow; cleare and deepe rivers full of fiſh,* &c. p. 21.

It is ſaid of Egelrede, the Saxon, that he was *affined* to the king above mentioned: which relation was probably by a marriage into that prince's family. Who the perſon was to whom he was thus related, may be with great probability made out: for the king, who reigned at the time alluded to in

the poem, was Meredyth ap Owen; who had been ſo conſtituted by Harold in the year 1064. Powel informs us, that *Caradoc ap Gruffyth was the firſt, that procured Haroald for, to come to Wales againſt Gruffyth ap Lhewelyn, hoping by him to atteine unto the governement of South Wales: but it fell out otherwiſe. For when Haroald underſtood, that he ſhould not get that at the hands of Caradoc, which he looked for (which was a certaine lordſhip within Wales, nigh unto Hereford) and knowing alſo Caradoc to be a ſubtile and deceiptfull man; compounding with Meredyth ap Owen, for that lordſhip, he made him king, or prince of South Wales*, p. 104. This was two years before the battle of * Haſtings.

NYGHTE-MARES.

Harke, the Dethe-Owle loude dothe ſynge,
To the Nyghte-Mares, as heie goe.
Ælla, p. 137. v. 867.

The night-mare is a diſorder, ariſing from an oppreſſion, to which people are ſubject in their ſleep. But the true author of the ſonnet, who ſeems to be well acquainted with the Gothic mythology, has a further alluſion.

* See Florent. Wigornienſis ad annum 1064. p. 633.

He accordingly ſpeaks of the Night-Mares in the plural; and introduces them as perſons: for they were looked upon as ſo many infernal hags, or dæmons. The chief, from whom the others had their name, was ſtiled *Mara*; and eſteemed a foul incubus; though mentioned in the Edda, as one of the original deities, which attended upon Friga and Odin. Mytholog. xxx. Olaus Wormius calls her *Mara:* nocturnum ſpectrum, et dormientibus inſidioſum. Mon. Dan. p. 18. Junius ſpeaks to the ſame purpoſe. Mare, night-mare, incubus, ephialtes. Belgis quoque dicitur mære, merrie, &c.—Su. mara. Ang. Sax. mara. There were more than one of this character; and they are thus deſcribed by Junius in a quotation from a German gloſſary. Huc etiam pertinet alter locus, Al. Glo. O. 5. Phyloſi, Dæmonum genus. Hos nonnulli Doctiſſimorum Incubones et Satyros, &c putaverunt. Etymolog. Ang. Theſe are the Night-Mares which the author ſuppoſes to take their flight in the depth of darkneſs, at the time when the Death-Owl was ſcreaming.

SHOONE-PYKES.

Ne browded mantell of a ſcarlette hue;
Ne *ſhoon-pykes* plaïted o'er with ribbande geere.
Ne coſtlie *paraments* of *woden* blue.
Storie of Maſter Canynge. v. 43.

This is a piece of hiſtory, with which I ſhould not imagine, that the tranſcriber was at all acquainted. Mr. Tyrwhitt has given us the true purport of the term ſhoon-pykes; and explains them *by ſhoes with piked toes.* He farther tells us, that the pikes were reſtrained to two inches by 3 Edw. 4. c. 5. It is very certain, that they had been for a great while increaſing, till at laſt the pikes were ſo long, that they were forced to be ſupported by ſilver chains, and other helps, according to the eſtate of the perſon, who kept up to the faſhion. Stowe tells us—Anno 1463. 29. April, *began a parliament at Weſtminſtre: in the which was ordained—that no man weare ſhooes, or bootes, having pikes paſſing two inches in length: or ſhoemaker to make them above that ſize.* Chron. p. 417. He ſpeaks of it afterwards more fully, when he treats of the tranſactions of the year 1465. *It was proclaimed thorowout England, that the beakes or pikes of*

ſhoone

ſhoone or boots ſhoulde not paſſe two inches, upon paine of curſing by the clergy, and forfeiting 20s. *to be payd, one noble to the king, another to the corwainers in London. And for other cities and townes the like order was taken. Before this time and ſince the yeare of our Lord* 1382, *the pikes of ſhooes and boots were of ſuch length, that they were faine to be tyed up to their knees with chaines of ſilver, gilt: or at leaſt with ſilk laces,* p. 419. Camden quotes from an hiſtory, which he calls Eulogium, to the ſame purpoſe. *Their ſhoes and pattens are ſnowted and piked more than a finger long, crooking upwards; which they call Crackowes, reſembling the divel's clawes; which are faſtened to the knees with chaines of gold and* **ſilver.* The clergy gave into this extravagant faſhion, as we learn from the author of Pierce Plowman's viſion.

Proude prieſtes come wyth him, mo than a thouſand
In paltokes & *piked ſhoes*, & piſſers long knives. p. 114.

PARAMENTS. ibid.

This word in the notes is interpreted robes of ſcarlet as may be ſeen in the tragedy of Ælla, p. 79. v. 52. and in the gloſſary. According to Du Cange, it is taken in a more

* Camden's Remains, p. 232. See Holinſhed. v. 3. p. 668.

extenſive ſignification. Paramentum, apparatus, ſive bellicus, ſive alius quivis: rerum neceſſariarum copia, inſtructio. The word is again introduced by Rowley in the Engliſh Metamorphoſes, v. 36.

> Eftſoons the gentle Locryne was poſſeſt
> Of ſwaie, and veſted in the *paramente*.

This too is ſuppoſed by the tranſcriber to have been a garment: and it is accordingly interpreted *a princely robe*. But he ſeems to have been miſtaken. For in this place it appears rather to have been a ſuggeſtum, or throne, where kings at the commencement of their reigns were inveſted with all the enſigns of royalty. Du Cange quotes Hincmarus Rhemenſis, who is adviſing the prince, to whom he writes concerning the diſorders committed by ſoldiers: and he begs to have them reſtrained by the king's perſonal injunctions. He concludes with theſe words—et antequam de Paramento veſtro ad manſiones redeant, commonete eos ſecundum ſapientiam veſtram. Again—Ut ſi tales ſint, qui antea hanc admonitionem non audierint, eis quotidie, quando ad paramentum veſtrum venerint, relegat. Upon this Du Cange obſerves—paramentum videtur eſſe tribunal paratum, ſeu adornatum. When it is therefore ſaid by the poet, that Locrine upon his ſucceeding to the kingdom, was veſted in *the* paramente,

paramente, it does not neceſſarily mean—*a robe:* but it alludes to the * throne, in which he was crowned, and likewiſe veſted with every ornament ſuitable to his dignity. The word occurs in two different acceptations; of which the tranſcriber was not at all aware.

WODEN BLUE. ibid.

He was probably not acquainted with the purport of this term, as he has no where given his opinion concerning it. Woden blue is that colour obtained from the herb called woad, which is uſed in dying. It is the ſame as was of old ſtiled glaſtum; and which is mentioned by Du Cange. Glaſtum. Gallis herbæ genus, quo Britanni tingendis corporibus uſi, ut auctor eſt Cæſar. L. 5. de bello Gall. et Plinius. L. 20, 22. c. 27. p. 267, &c.—I have ſpoken of it before.

HOKEDAY and HOKETIDE.

This is the name given to an ancient feſtival, the origin of which is very uncertain;

* To my ear there ſeems to be a difference in ſenſe between a perſon's being ſaid to be veſted in *a* parament; and in *the* parament. The words in *a* parament mean *in a robe of ſtate.* In *the* parament ſignifies, *in the throne.*

nor is the purport of the term aſſuredly known. We find, that it is more than once mentioned in this collection of poems.

> As maſtie dogs, at *Hoctide* ſet to fyghte.
> Firſt Batt. of Haſt. p. 226. v. 348.

> Browne as the nappy ale at *Hoctyde* game.
> Second Batt. of Haſt. v. 422.

> Orre Cornyſh wraſtlers at a *Hoctyde* game.
> ib. v. 486.

All our Etymologiſts ſuppoſe, that this feſtival was obſerved in commemoration of the Danes being in one day deſtroyed through the kingdom. This is ſaid to have been put in execution by order of King Ethelred, the ſon of Edgar, in the year 1002. Accordingly Spelman affords us this account of it, Hocday, Hokeday, Hoctueſday, feſtivitas, quam, deriſis ejectiſque Danis, Angli (ut exactis Regibus Romani fugalia) annue in lætitiam celebrabant: quæ nec hodie apud mediterraneos penitus exolevit. Lambardus (in itinerario Cantij, Tit. Sandwich) dictum putat quaſi Þucxtueſdæg, id eſt dies Martis irriſorius—&c. Origo rei inde videtur petenda, quod Æthelredus Rex ſub armorum luſtrandorum ſpecie, uno eodemque die per univerſum regnum Danos omnes occidit: ut teſtantur L. L. Edvardi Confeſſoris, ca. 35. I omit the various etymologies given by Spelman, as well as thoſe by Skinner, Du Cange,

Cange, and others. I ſhall only obſerve, that they, and, I believe, moſt modern writers upon the ſubject, ſuppoſe the feſtival to have been inſtituted on account of the ſlaughter of the Danes. But this ſeems on many accounts impoſſible; however in later times aſſerted, and believed. That there was a cruel and unwarrantable ſlaughter of this people, cannot be doubted; though it could not be ſo general as repreſented: for they were in the provinces of Northumbria, and of the Eaſt Angles, too powerful not to have made ſome defence. But let the commands of the king have been ever ſo fully executed, yet why ſhould ſo cruel, and ſo ineffectual a piece of policy be commemorated by a feſtival? What good accrued to the nation from it? None at all: for the very next year in conſequence of this cruelty, the Danes came with their King Swain at their head; and over-ran all the weſtern provinces with fire and ſword; nor did their fury ceaſe, till they became maſters of the kingdom: which misfortune had never happened, but for this inſtance of Ethelred's cruelty. Beſides this extirpation of the Danes is expreſly ſaid by our beſt hiſtorians, to have been effected upon a Wedneſday the 13th of November, which was the feaſt of St. Brice: but Hockday was upon a Tueſday in March; which was termed *Huxtueſday* and

Quindena

Quindena Paſchæ. This ſeems to ſhew, that the tranſaction ſpoken of could have no relation to the feſtival. Add to this, that if there had been any connexion between them, we ſhould find it appear in the accounts given of this event by the moſt ancient hiſtorians. They mention the ſlaughter of the Danes; but not one of them takes notice of any commemoration being inſtituted. Not the leaſt reference to this Hocktide is to be found in any of them. Thus William of Malmſbury enumerates many inſtances of folly and inhumanity in Ethelred; and particularly his cruelty towards the Danes; which he holds in deteſtation. * Nam præter Anglos, quos nullis cauſis extantibus exhæredebat, vel afficto crimine opibus emungebat; præter Danos, quos levibus ſuſpicionibus omnes uno die in totâ Angliâ trucidari juſſerat; ubi fuit videre miſeriam, dum quiſque chariſſimos hoſpites, quos etiam arctiſſima neceſſitudo dulciores effecerat, cogeretur prodere, et amplexus gladio deturbare. Præter hæc etiam in uxorem, &c.—This fearful event is taken notice of by the author of the † Saxon Chronicle; by Simeon ‡ Dunelmenſis; by the

* De Geſtis Reg. Ang. L. 2. p. 64.

† Sax. Chron. p. 133. l. 1. anno 1002. on Bjriciur mæjrdæg.

‡ Sim. Dunelm. p. 165.

Abbat

Abbat of * Rievall; by † Radulphus de Diceto; by ‡ Henry de Knyhton; by || Florence of Worceſter; by § Matthew of Weſtminſter; and by other writers. The laſt mentioned hiſtorian is very full upon this head: and informs us, that this maſſacre took place from the evil advice of one Huna, an officer in the king's army. Tunc Rex, non mediocriter commotus ejuſdem Hunæ conſilio miſit literas in omnes regni fines, mandans nationibus ſingulis, et univerſis, ut ſub unâ die, in feſto ſcilicet Sancti Britij Epiſcopi, omnes Dani per Angliam conſtituti furtivo impetu morti traderentur.—Sicque Dani, qui firmo fædere, paulo ante utrinque jurato, cum Anglis pacifice habitare debuerant, opprobrioſe nimis ſunt perempti; mulieres cum liberis ad domorum poſtes alliſæ miſerabiliter animas effuderunt. Cum igitur hujus decreti ſententia apud urbem Londoniarum abſque miſericordiâ exequeretur, fugerunt multi Danorum ad quandam ** Eccleſiam in civitate, ubi omnes ſine pietate,

* Abbas Rievall. p. 362. l. 63.

† Radulf. de Diceto. p. 461. l. 57.

‡ —In nocte Sancti Bricij: ſet Swanus Rex execrabiliter hoc vindicavit. H. de Knyghton. p. 2315. l. 40.

|| Florent. de Worceſtre. p. 611. l. 29.

§ Matt. Weſt. p. 200. l. 44.

** St. Clement's Danes.

ipſos

ipſis aſtantes altaribus, ſunt perempti. He proceeds afterwards to inform us of the evils, which came upon the nation in conſequence of this cruelty. But not a word is here mentioned of any celebrity eſtabliſhed by way of memorial. Indeed it was almoſt impoſſible in the nature of things: for before that day next year, the Danes were in the heart of the* kingdom: ſo that there was more reaſon to grieve than to rejoice.—Quod Daci tranſmarini audientes, in furorem verſi, duce Swaino, cum innumerabili exercitu Angliam intrantes, diffuſi ſunt per provincias, et diſperſi, non ordini, non ſexui, non ætati parcentes; nec ab Eccleſiarum vel monaſteriorum ſacris et ſanctuarijs manus ſacrilegas continentes. Abbas Rievallis. p. 362, 3. l. 65. Let any body judge, if any holyday could be eſtabliſhed in conſequence of an event, which entailed ſuch miſery on the nation. Hence John Roſs, and Speed, ſuppoſed the memorial to have been on account of Hardiknute, the laſt Daniſh king. But he died at Lambeth on the 6th of June: how can his death relate to a feſtival in the middle of March? And how comes it, if it were ſo, that not one of the more ancient writers ſhould have mentioned it? See J. Roſs, p. 105, 6. Speed, p. 392. It is moreover

* St. Clement's Danes.

to

to be obſerved, that as thoſe, who ſpeak of the ſlaughter of the Danes, take no notice of Hocktide, or any feſtival: ſo Matthew Paris, who ſpeaks of Hock-day, makes no mention of the Danes. Hence I think, we may be aſſured, that there was no relation, nor correſpondence between the two circumſtances. The feſtival is mentioned more than once by the hiſtorian above (M. P.) and from hence we may learn ſomething about the time of the celebrity. The firſt inſtance occurs in the reign of King Henry the Third. * Anni quoque ſub ejuſdem circulo, die videlicet lunæ, quæ ipſum diem præcedit proximo, quam *Hokedai* vulgariter appellamus, fecit Dominus Rex omnes Londinenſes a minimo uſque ad maximum voce præconiâ convocari. Again.—† Circa idem tempus, ſcilicet in quindenâ Paſchæ, quæ vulgariter *Hokeday* appellatur, &c.—Again—‡ Et poſt diem Martis quæ vulgariter *Hokedaie* appellatur, factum eſt Parlamentum Londini: Rex enim multis et arduis rebus ſolicitabatur. We do not from theſe extracts find, that this feſtival had any reference to the murder of the Danes: nor indeed have we, as far as I can learn, any account of its original. The author however of the Gloſſary ſuppoſes, that it did re-

* P. 834. anno 1252. † P. 904. l. 39.
‡ P. 963. l. 43.

late

late to this hiſtory, and mentions a cuſtom, which prevailed in moſt parts of England, for women upon this day to ſtand in the public ways with ropes, and ſtop people, who paſſed by; and beg a gratuity from them. The whole was carried on with jokes and laughter. This the author thinks was done by way of commemoration. Diem obſervatum tradunt in memoriam omnium Danorum eâ die clanculo, et ſimul in Angliâ, ubi tum dominabantur, a mulieribus fere occiſorum. But not one hiſtorian gives the leaſt hint, that any women were partakers in this maſſacre: and it is to be hoped for the honour of the ſex, that they were not in the leaſt concerned in it. The ceremony of ſtanding in the public ways with cords, and ſtopping people and aſking for a piece of money, has no relation to the object, which it is ſuppoſed to commemorate. All that we can learn is that the feſtival was ancient, and held upon or near the 15th of March: and the ſeaſon ſeems to have been in great meaſure allotted to feſtivity and carouſing. The common people had their ſports of different ſorts, ſuch as wreſtling, baiting of the bull; and other manly amuſements. One peculiar cuſtom among the women has been mentioned above: and it is farther ſaid of them, that when they ſtopped any perſon, with their cords,

cords, they uſed to beg a gratuity, which they expended upon pious uſes. Plot ſpeaks of this celebrity as ſtill ſubſiſting in Oxfordſhire, when he wrote. He ſtiles it * Hoc-day, Hockday, Hokeday, Hoketide, Hokemonday, and Hoketueſday; and ſuppoſes, as others have done, that it was in memory of the great ſlaughter of the Danes. He mentions, that there were two Hokedays obſerved in Oxfordſhire, the one for men, and the other for women; which latter he ſays, was the more ſolemn. Upon this day they had ropes and chains, with whi h they ſtopped paſſengers, and exacted a ſmall piece of money. With part of this they regaled themſelves; and beſtowed the remainder upon pious uſes. The whole probably is the remains of an ethuic cuſtom: for March was looked upon as the firſt month of the year; and there were particular ceremonies and holidays obſerved by moſt nations in different parts of the month. Among the Romans were the Hilaria; and the feſtival of Anna Perenna: which laſt was upon the fifteenth of the month At this ſeaſon they drank, both men and women, in larger cups of wine: and for every cup wiſhed each other an additional year of life. At the ſame time there was a deal of laughter and occaſional wit, though not of the pureſt kind.

* Hiſt. of Oxfordſhire, C. viii. p. 201, 2.

* Inde joci veteres obſcænaque dicta feruntur.

† Strabo mention, that the young women of Babylon uſed to ſit with a rope round their middle; and whoever laid hold of it in order to gain their acquaintance, they demanded a piece of money of that perſon, which they preſented at the temple of Venus. Whether the Hockday has any relation to theſe ancient ceremonies, cannot be eaſily determined; as we have not a ſufficient hiſtory concerning it. There are many different etymologies of Hockday and Hocktide. Thoſe ſeem to be neareſt the truth, who derive it from hock, high. Hockday, quaſi high-day. Hoga, hoghia, hogium et hogum. mons; collis. Hoch al. hog: Belg. hook: altus; editus. Spelman. This ſeems in ſome degree to be confirmed by its being alſo called Hext-Tueſday; for Hext is the ſuperlative of hoch, high: and anſwers to higheſt now. John Roſs above mentioned, expreſſes it in this manner, p. 105.—In cujus ſignum uſque hodie illâ die, vulgariter dictâ *Hextuiſday*, ludunt in villis, trahendo chordas partialiter cum alijs jocis. That *Hext*-Tueſday ſignified *Higheſt* Tueſday, may be known from many paſſages in ancient Engliſh wri-

* Ovid. Faſt. L. 3. v. 695.

† Lib. 16. p. 1081. See alſo Herodotus. L. 1. c. 199. p. 94. He ſays the rope was upon their heads.

ters:

ters: and eſpecially from Robert of Glouceſter. Thus he introduces the term, where he is ſpeaking of the foundation firſt laid for Saliſbury Cathedral.

* Ther was Pandulf the legate, & as *hext* of ech on
He leide vive the verſte ſtones, as vor the Pope that on.

Speaking of King Edgar's dream, he ſays—

† Upe the *hexte* bowe tuiẏe applen he ſeẏ.

i. e. *He beheld two apples upon the higheſt bough.*

From hence I am induced to think, that by *Hock*-day was meant the *high*-day: and by *Hext*-tueſday, the *higheſt* Tueſday. And as I before mentioned, I imagine, that it was an ancient celebrity, which was obſerved about the middle of March: but interfering with the preparation for Eaſter, it was poſtponed till after that Sunday; and was kept under the title of an high day on the Tueſday following. In ſome places it ſeems not to have been celebrated till the fifteenth day after Eaſter, called Quindena Paſchæ. It was at this ſeaſon, according to Dr. Plott, obſerved in his time by the people of Oxfordſhire.

* P. 518.

† P. 283. In another place he mentions, King Gurmund the hexte king. Rob. of Glouc. p. 266. Thretty of her hexte dukes. ibid. l. 10. i. e. *higheſt.*

END OF THE FIRST PART.

OBSERVATIONS

UPON THE

POEMS

OF

THOMAS ROWLEY:

PART II.

CONVENT and MINSTER

Of our Lady and Saint Goodwyne.

IN the Balade of *Charitie* mention is made of the convent of St. Godwine: which in the proſe account of William Canninge Rowley ſtiles the Miniſter of our Lady and St. Goodwin *. He tells us, that he was employed by the excellent man, his friend and patron, to go to the principal abbies and priories to purchaſe for him pictures, and other curioſities; and the firſt place that he viſited, was this convent of our Lady and St. Goodwine. It is by the learned Mr. Warton ſuppoſed, that the place alluded to was at Worceſter. We are told in the notes to the poem, that the abbot at that time was Ralph de Bellomont: but from whom this intelligence proceeded, we are not informed. It was probably annexed to the original manuſcript by the hand of the author. Thus much is certain, that the family of the Bellomont's, of which family were ſome of the Earls of Warwick, had been benefactors to ſeveral religious houſes in this part of the world. At Warwick one of them

* Miſcell. in proſe and verſe, by T. C. p. 125.

founded an hoſpital for lepers. * Domus leproſorum St. Michaelis Warwici fundata per Rogerum de Bello-monte, Comitem Warwilenſem. The like benefactions were conferred upon the place by his ſon, † Anno Dni MCLXXXIII. fundata eſt domus Johannis extra muros per Gulielmum Comitem, filium Rogeri de Bellomonte. The ſame Roger de Bellomont built alſo in this city the convent of Auguſtine Friers. ‡ Rogerus de Bello-monte induxit Canonicos Ordinis Sti Auguſtini in eccleſiam S. Sepulchri, quam Henricus de Bello-monte, pater ejus, conſtruxit ad petitionem Hieroſolymitarum. Hæc erat capitalis domus hujus ordinis per Angliam et Walliam. Putantque Almaricum hujus loci primum Priorem ad Patriarchalem ſedem Hieroſolymitarum fuiſſe tranſlatum. Theſe hiſtories will ſerve to ſhew the great wealth of this family; and their liberality to the church. Concerning any benefactions to Worceſter I do not read. Thus much we know, that there was in this place an ancient convent dedicated to Saint Mary, mentioned by Harpsfeld, p. 769. which may poſſibly be the convent ſpoken of

* Leland. Itin. v. 4. Append. p. 161.

† Ibid. p. 162.

‡ Ibid. p. 161. Concerning the Bellomonts, ſee alſo vol. vi. p. 63. and Dugdale's Monaſticon, v. i. p. 289. 359. 470. 510. 598. 626. 724; alſo in v. ii.

in the poem. Worceſtriæ, quæ et Wigorniæ, T. S. Mariæ, S. Wolſtani, Stæ Catharinæ, fundavit Sexwulphus Epiſcopus Merciorum A. D. 680. Oſwaldus Epiſcopus Wigorn. Wolſtanus ibidem Epiſcop. A. D. 1090.—Nigri Monachi. Reditus annuus. £.1386. 12s. 10d. In the Actus Pontificum by William Stubbs, the author ſpeaking of the death of Bp. Oſwald, ſays,—11 idus Marcij migravit ad Dominum, et Wygorniæ in Eccleſiâ Stæ Mariæ, quam ipſe a fundamentis conſtruxerat, requieſcit. p. 1699. We find, that there were religious places at Worceſter dedicated to St. Mary: but the perſon, who ſeems to ſpeak moſt to the purpoſe, is Lambarde, where he is treating of this place. *The towne hathe the ryver Severne on the weſt therof, and had longe ſence (beſides the Biſhops chaire) a caſtle, and certeine religious buildinges, that is to ſay, St. Maries Abbay*—&c. p. 405. This is the ſame monaſtery, which is mentioned above by Stubbs and Harpsfeld; and the ſame, I believe, which is alluded to by the poet. As the family of the Bellomonts had been ſuch benefactors to the church, we need not wonder, if one of them is mentioned as Abbot of a rich convent in their * neighbourhood. For this

* Lewis de Bellomonte, in the reign of Edward the Second, was Biſhop of Durham.

monaſtery

monaſtery was very wealthy: and we find above, that at the diſſolution the annual income was eſtimated at £.1386. 12*s*. 10*d*. The abbot, in conſequence of it, is repreſented by the poet, as remarkably ſplendid in his attire; and haughty in his demeanor.

We find, that the monaſtery had its name from *our Ladie* and Saint *Godwin*. The former title has been authenticated by the evidence above given: but concerning St. Godwin I can obtain no intelligence. We find in Capgrave and * Serenus Creſſy a Saint Golwin, who is ſaid to have been an Armorican; and to have lived in the fourth century. There was likewiſe a Saint † Goven, who was of Britiſh original: and from whom a promontory in Pembrokeſhire had the name of St. Goven's Point. Both St. Goven, and St. Golwen are eaſily miſtaken for Godwin. Leland takes notice of St. Godwald, who had a church dedicated to him at Worceſter; ‡ but adds, *who this St. Godwald was, I could not certainly learn*. As he appears to have been one of the tutelary Saints of the place, he may poſſibly have been the ſame, who in the tranſcript from Rowley is ſtiled || Godwin.

* L. 14. p. 319. † Camd. p. 714. ‡ Lel. v. iv. p. 104.

|| Abbies and other religious houſes, had many names, being dedicated to more Saints than one: Of this we may find innumerable inſtances in Harpsfield, Dugdale, and other writers.

There is reaſon to think, that ſeveral names in theſe poems have been not truly copied: nor has the tranſcriber in common words always kept up to the truth. It is a point of no great moment, but in this ballad of Charity, he ſpeaks of St. Godwin's *convent*: but not many lines before the ſame word is expreſſed *covent*.

* —— faſte by a pathwaie ſide,
Which dide unto St. Godwin's covent lede.

This I imagine was the true reading in both places: as it agrees with the uſage of the more early writers. Thus we find it rendered in the viſion of Pierce Plowman:

† And al the *covent* furth came to welcome the tyrant.

It occurs likewiſe in Robert of Glouceſter.

‡ And of the hous of Teukeſbury thulke *covent* ys.

TEMPLE CHURCH.

Of the Temple Church at Briſtol.

In a curious tranſcript from Rowley, an account is given of the firſt building of this church, which was undertaken by a foreigner, contrary to the advice of a native of the place. He foretold, that it would not be ſecure on

* P. 204. v. 15. † Fol. 112. ‡ P. 433. l. 14.

account

account of the ſoil, upon which it was to ſtand; and concerning which he had great ſuſpicions. For there was a notion, that the river once ran there: and that the ſtreet called Rhi-ſtreet was denominated from that circumſtance: the term *Rhi* being ſuppoſed to betoken a *river*. In conſequence of this, the building, long before it was finiſhed, gave way, and ſunk; and could not be compleated. After this, the very perſon who had ſhewn his ſagacity, was employed. He by piles and other means ſecured the foundation; and then raiſed the church to its proper height. Of the foundation, upon which the church now ſtands, people very lately had ocular demonſtration: for the old gates leading to the Temple Church being decayed, the workmen were forced to dig, in order to fix ſome new ones: and within three feet of the ſurface they came to the ancient baſis; which was of ſo ſtrong workmanſhip, that they could not without great difficulty make their way through it. They did not, I believe, ſee the piles beneath: for the water roſe in ſuch quantities, that they could not reach ſo far. We have a curious atteſtation to the ſame purpoſe in William of Worceſtre, who lived in the time of Rowley. He tells us, that in the ſtreet calle *le Pylle*, as you paſs between St. Leonard's church, and the church

yard of St. Stephen, there were ſome houſes built; and in digging for a foundation they found the ſoil ſo weak, that they were obliged to go 47 feet deep: in doing which they found a boat, and a parcel of ray-cloth, which had been buried there for a long ſeaſon. They came alſo to a large tree. p. 268. The opinion concerning the river Froom once running where that ſtreet ſtands, is farther confirmed by the ſame author; which, as it is ſhort, I will give in his own words. * *The yate of St. Leonard under the ſeyd chyrch croſſeth* 11 *weys: the ſouth-eaſt way ys Baldwyne ſtrete goyng to the bakke. The ſecund way is called Pylle-ſtreet: there of old dayes renne the water called Frome by Baldwyne ſtrete to the bakk, fallyng into Avyn-water*, p. 177. He mentions both Pylle (or Pile) ſtreet, and Marſh-ſtreet: both of which had undoubtedly their names from the circumſtances mentioned in theſe hiſtories.

CANYNGE.

It is ſaid in the † Memoirs concerning this excellent perſon, that in the year, in

* Itinerarium Symonis Simeonis et Willelmi de Worceſtre a Jacob Naſmith, A M. S A S. editum 1778. He wrote 1480.

† See Miſcell. by T. Chatterton, p. 119.

which

which King Edward came to Briſtow, he was recommended by that prince to a marriage with a lady, whom he had never ſeen; and who was of the Widdevile family, more commonly ſtiled Woodville. This was a noble match for him; as the head of the family was the Earl of Rivers; who had married Jaquilina of Luxemburgh, the widow of the great Duke of Bedford. But Canninge was above ſuch honours. He likewiſe was too knowing not to ſee the ſnare, which was laid for him. For as he was not young, and at the ſame time immenſely rich, the king undoubtedly wanted to match him to one of the Woodvilles, that all his fortune might be entailed upon the family, into which the king himſelf had married. But Canninge ſaw into this artifice; and to avoid a connexion, where he was not permitted either ſight or choice, he went into orders, and was ordained by his friend Biſhop Carpenter of Worceſter. The king upon hearing this was angry beyond deſcription, and reſented Canninge's behaviour highly: ſo that, as we are informed by the author, Canninge was glad to preſent him with three thouſand * marks, in order to avoid his future ill-will. This was an immenſe ſum for thoſe times, and almoſt incredible. But we have

* See Miſcell. by T. Chatterton, p. 126.

authority

authority for it, in the treatiſe before mentioned of William of Worceſtre; who authenticates this part of the ſtory, paſt all diſpute. * Item ultra iſta Edwardus Rex quartus habuit de dicto Wilelmo (Canyngis) 111 milia marcarum pro pace ſuâ habendâ. To let us know farther, how well able this notable perſon was to pay ſuch a fine, he gives us an account of his trade and ſubſtance; which appears truly wonderful. The reader will excuſe the latinity, and attend only to the information afforded. † Dominus Willelmus Canyngis, qui fuit Major Lond (lege Briſtowe) 5 vicibus, per octo annos exhibuit octingentos homines in navibus occupatos: et habuit operarios, et carpentarios, maſons, &c. omni die centum homines.

De navibus habuit le Mary Canyngys de	400 doliatis.
Le Mary Radclyf, pondere	500 doliat.
Le Mary et John, pondere	900 doliatar.
Conſtabat ſibi in toto 4000 marcas.	
Le Galyot Navis, pondere	50 doliat.
Le Cateryn, pondere	140 doliat.
Le Marybat, pondere	220 doliat.
Le Margyt de Tynly, pondere	200 doliat.
Le lytylle Nicholas, pondere	140 doliat.

* P. 99. † Ibid.

Le

Le Kateryn de Boſton, pondere 220 doliat.
Le navis in Iſeland perdita circa pondus } 160 doliat.

He had given before a ſhort account of this excellent man; which authenticates many things found in Rowley. * Dominus Willelmus Canynges, ditiſſimus, et ſapientiſſimus, mercator Villæ Briſtoliæ, Decanus Eccleſiæ Weſtbery, obijt 17 die Novembris anno Chriſti 1474: et exal(ta)tus fuit in ordine preſbyteratûs 7 annis: et quinquies Major dictæ Villæ fuit, electus pro Republicâ dictæ Villæ. This was the perſon, whom Rowley with unfeigned regard ſtiles— † *a grete and good man, the favouryte of God, the friende of the chyrche, the compayonne of kynges, and the fadre of hys natyve cittie.* By the death of his father and an elder brother, he came to a large fortune, by which means he was enabled to raiſe his brother John very greatly in life; ſo that in the year 1456, he became Lord Mayor of London.

And put his broder into ſyke a trade,
That he Lorde Mayre of Londonne towne was made.
p. 283.

This is verified by the liſts of the Mayors in ‡ Fabian, Stowe, &c. Of Sir William Canynge's

* Itinerar. Will. Wor. p. 83.
† See Rowley's Memoirs of William Canynge, p. 117.
‡ There is however great reaſon to think that his name

Canynge's going into orders to avoid the marriage propoſed by King Edward, we have the following evidence, for which we are indebted to Mr. Tyrwhitt. * *It is certain, from the regiſter of the Biſhop of Worceſter, that Mr. Canynge was ordained Acolythe by Biſhop Carpenter on 19th of September,* 1467; *and received the higher orders of Subdeacon, Deacon, and Prieſt, on the 12th of March,* 1467. *O. S. the 2d and 16th of April,* 1468, *reſpectively.* We find farther from William of † Worceſter, that he was at laſt made Dean of Weſtbury: for which place Biſhop Carpenter ſeems to have entertained a great regard, in ſo much, that he choſe it for his principal place of reſidence; and wanted it to be made a Biſhop's See, and to be united to Worceſter. ‡ Johannes Carpenter voluit in titulum aſſumere, ut Epiſcopus Wigorn: et Weſtburienſis diceretur. Hic ex veteri Collegio, quod erat Weſtebiriæ, novum fecit, et prædijs auxit, addito pinnato muro, portâ, et turribus, inſtar Caſtelli. The biſhop died, ac-

name was not John: for Fabian, who lived in the ſame century, and was himſelf Lord Mayor of London, mentions Canynge, who was a Grocer, both as Mayor and Sheriff: and in each of theſe capacities he ſtiles him Thomas.

* Introductory account by Mr. Tyrwhitt, p. xxiii.

† P. 83.

‡ Leland's Itin. v. viii. p. 100.

cording

cording to * Godwin at Northweek, and was buried at Weſtbury. The ſame is ſaid by Leland. Johannes Carpenter Epiſcopus Wigorn: erexit magnam turrim, id eſt, the Gate Houſe, apud Herthiſbiriom. Obijt ad Northwike epiſcopi, et ſepultus apud Weſtbyry prope Brightſtow, ubi fuit alter † fundator.

WIDDEVILLE.

It is obſervable, that the family of King Edward's Queen is in the paſſage above ſtiled Widdeville: but in Hall's Chronicle it is ‡ Woodville: and in this he is followed by Grafton, Hollinſhed, Speed, Baker, Rapin, and other Engliſh hiſtorians. But thoſe, who have looked into manuſcripts, find the name expreſſed Wideville, and Widdeville; and ſo it occurs in extracts made by Hearne. Thus in the annals of Wilhelm of Wyrceſtre, we find among the perſons knighted in the Tower by King Edward, upon his marriage with the Lady Elizabeth Gray, two who were her brothers: Richard Wydevile, and John Wydevile. See Liber Niger Scaccarij per T. Hearne, v. ii. p. 502. The author had juſt before

* See Godwin de Præſul. and Le Neves Faſti. p. 298.

† Leland. Itin. v. viii. p. 99.

‡ It is found rendered both Woodville and Woodvile.

mentioned

mentioned the latter of theſe perſons with this remarkable hiſtory annexed. Menſe Januarij Katerina duciſſa Norffolciæ, juvencula ætatis * fere $\frac{xx}{iiii}$ annorum, maritata eſt Johanni *Widevile*, fratri Reginæ, ætatis xx annorum. Maritagium diabolicum: vindicta Bernardi inter eoſdem poſtea patuit. ibid. He in another place takes notice of the other brother.—Riccardum *Widevile*, militem, fratrem Reginæ Elizabethæ. p. 517. The king wanted to change him from a ſoldier to a churchman; and to appoint him Prior to the convent of St. John of Jeruſalem: but ſeems to have been defeated in his purpoſe. The name is here rendered Widevile; and ſo it occurs in a fragment at the end of Sprot's Chronicle: concerning which Mr. Hearne has the following note. De Nuptijs Edwardi iv ac Elizabethæ Widevile vide fragmentum illud vetuſtum ac egregium, linguâ venaculâ conſcriptum, quod ad calcem Thomæ Sprotti edidimus. The paſſage is as follows. *On the xxvi day of May the queene Elizabeth was crowned att Weſtmonſtre with ſolemnite, where as were made Knigtes of the Bath, as I knewe, the Lorde Duras, Sir Birtelot de Rybaire—Sir John Wydevile, brother to the queene; alſo Anthony Wydevile, brother to the queene.* p. 294. and p. 296. A perſon

* *i. e.* fere octoginta annorum. p. 501.

of

of this name is mentioned far prior: ſee Lib. Nig. Scacc. p. 213. Upon which, the ſame writer has the following note. Hinc liquet Widvillorum familiam admodum eſſe antiquam: immo longe vetuſtiorem, quam voluerunt nonnulli. He ſays, that Dugdale could not find any of the family higher than the 37th of Edward the Third. But it is certain, that one Hugo de Widevile is mentioned in Doomſday Book, as holding lands in Northamptonſhire.

Now as all the printed hiſtories of England exhibit the name of this Lady, and thoſe of her family, in a different manner; how came C. to vary from them, and to expreſs it * Widdevile, inſtead of Woodville? The reaſon was, becauſe he had not recourſe to any printed hiſtory. There is reaſon to think, that he never read Stowe or Speed; much leſs Hall or Grafton. It was from a Manuſcript that he drew; from one of that collection, to which we have been ſo much beholden.

Sir TIBBALD, or THEOBALD, GORGES.

One of Maſter Canynge's, as well as Rowley's, moſt intimate friends, was Sir Theobald

* See Mr. Tyrwhitt's Preface to Rowley's Poems, p. xxiii.

Gorges; whoſe family ſeat was at Wraxhall in the neighbourhood of Briſtol. A perſon of this name reſided there in the time of Leland. *Wrekeſhale is a 3 miles from Wike towards Brighteſtow. Here hath Sir Wylliam Gorge a meane old Maner place in a valley: and on eche ſide of it on the hilles is a fayre parke.* Itin. vol. vii. p. 98. That he was one of Canynge's friends, we have the following remarkable atteſtation. * *His connexion with Mr. Canynge is verified by a deed of the latter, dated 20 October, 1467: in which he gives to truſtees in part of a benefaction of £. 500 to the church St. Mary Redcliffe certain jewells of Sir Theobald Gorges, Knight, which had been pawned to him for £. 160.* He is ſtiled Sir † Thybotte in Rowley: and we have the following hiſtory concerning the family of this perſon, in Pryn. Brev. Parliamenti (Part i. p. 80.) where he

* Mr. Tyrwhitt's Preface to Rowley's Poems, p. xxv.

† We find the name expreſſed much in the ſame manner by other ancient writers; and particularly by Rob. of Glouceſter.

Tho *Tebaud* the erchebiſſop ſuthth ded was.
p. 469. v. 7.

In another place ſpeaking of King Henry the Firſt keeping his court at Chriſtmas, he ſays—

The kyng held at Bromtone ther after al in peys:
Hys feſte at mydwynter myd *Tebaud* of Bloys.
p. 439. l. 7.

The ſame perſon is called Syr *Tybaud*, p. 436. l. 18.

is

is ſpeaking of Sir Theobald Ruſſel. *The ſaid Theobald by his firſt wife Eleanor, daughter and coheir of Ralph de Gorges, a baron in parliament, temp. Edwardi Tertij, had three ſons, Sir John; William, who died without iſſue; and Sir Theobald, who bore the name and arms of Gorges: viz. Lozingy, Or and Gules: from whom the Gorges of Wraxhall in Herefordſhire are deſcended.* It is in the additions to Camden, expreſſed Wroxhall, and placed more truly in Somerſetſhire: unleſs there were two ſeats of this family of the ſame name in different counties. *Wroxhall (in ſome old writings called Wrokeſhale) hath been for a long time the ſeat of the Gorges: of which ancient family Ralph de Gorges was in the 47th year of Henry the Third, made governour of Sherburn Caſtle; and a little after of the Caſtle of Exeter.* Britann. p. 85. We are farther informed concerning this family, * that Sir Edmund Gorges of Wraxhall, Somerſetſhire, Knight of the Bath, in the time of King Henry the Seventh, married Anne, daughter of John Duke of Norfolk, ſlain at Boſworth field. By her he had a ſon, Sir Edward, ſeated likewiſe at † Wraxhall; anceſtor to Sir Edward Gorges, created by King James the Firſt a peer of Ireland, by the title of Lord of Dundalk.

* See Collins's peerage—Duke of Norfolk, p. 64.

† Camden's Britann. p. 1393.

Sir BALDWIN FULFORD.

This perſon is mentioned by Leland, under the title of *Fulford*, a *Knighte of Fulford in Devonſhire*. Itin. v. iii. p. 4. He in another place expreſſes the name Fulfirte: and ſpeaking of Lord Holland, who was Duke of Exeter, he ſays, of him, *He was Admirale of England:* and ſubjoins, *Sir Baldwine Fulfirte, a Knighte of the Sepulchre, was his under Admiralle.* Itin. v. vii. p. 8. This may account for a particular hiſtory given of him by Stowe; in which he is repreſented as undertaking a naval expedition. He ſtiles him *Sir Baudwine*, and intimates, that he was a zealous Lancaſtrian; and active in the ſervice of his Prince, King Henry the Sixth; but unſucceſsful. *Sir Baudwine Fulford undertooke, on pain of loſing his head, that he would deſtroy the Earle of Warwicke* (at Calais) *But when he hadde ſpent the king a thouſand markes in money, he returned again.* Stowe's Chron. p. 406. b. l. 47. He was beheaded at Briſtol in the year 1461, by order of the Earl of March, who at that time had juſt taken the title of King Edward the Fourth. This Prince was undoubtedly irritated by the loſs of his father at the unfortunate battle of

Wakefield, and by the cruelty ſhewn to many of his friends, who had been put to death that year after the ſecond battle of Saint Albans. Indeed there was very little mercy ſhewn on either ſide: and before this execution at Briſtol, the king, after the battle of Townton, had ordered Sir Thomas Fulford to be beheaded, who was probably of the ſame family as Sir Baldwin. He ſuffered with many more of the Lancaſtrian party at * Hexham in Northumberland. Concerning the event at Briſtol, upon which the poem of Rowley is founded, we have the following evidences afforded us by the learned Mr. Tyrwhitt. † Sir Baldwin Fulford *was attainted with many others, in the general act of attainder,* 1 *Edw. IV. but he ſeems to have been executed under a ſpecial commiſſion for the trial of treaſons, &c. within the town of Briſtol. The fragment of the old Chronicle publiſhed by Hearne at the end of Sprotti Chronica. p.* 289. *ſays only, item, the ſame yere* (1 Edw. IV.) *was takin Sir Baldewine Fulford, and beheddid at Briſtow. But the matter is more fully ſtated in the act, which paſſed in* 7 *Edw. IV. for the reſtitution in blood and eſtate of Thomas Fulford, Knight, eldeſt ſon of Baldewyn Fulford, late of Fulford in the county of Devonſhire,*

* Stow. p. 416. He is mentioned by W. of Wyrceſtre: See Liber Niger Scaccarij. by Hearne, v. ii. p. 491.

† Introductory account to Rowley's Poems, p. xviii.

Knight. Rot. Parl. 8 Edw. IV. p. 1. m. 13. In the poem it is ſaid, that at the time of this event William Canynge was Mayor. And agreeably to this, in the act referred to above, we find, that he was ſo: for in the preamble of this act it is mentioned, that Sir Baldwin was upon the 5th of September, 1461, *atteynt of dyvers treſons by him doon ayenſt the king:* and among the perſons, who ſat as judges upon the occaſion *at Briſtowe, in the ſhire of Briſtowe*, were—Henry Erle of Eſſex, William Haſtyngs of Haſtyngs, Knt. Richard Chock, * *William Canyng, Maire.* And in reſpect to King Edward's being at Briſtol when this happened, Mr. Tyrwhitt very judicioufly obſerves, that * *if the commiſſion ſate ſoon after the 5th of September, as is moſt probable, King Edward might very poſſibly be at Briſtol at the time of Sir Baldewyn's execution. For between his coronation and the parliament, which met in November, he made a progreſs (as the continuator of Stowe informs us, p. 416.) by the ſouth coaſt into the weſt, and was, among other places, at Briſtol.* As to his taking a view of the whole proceſs, as deſcribed in the poem, we have ſo far evidence, as to make it highly probable: for which we are again indebted to the reſearches of Mr. Tyrwhitt: whoſe words I will again take the liberty to

* Introduct. to Rowley's Poems, p. xix.

quote,

quote. *Indeed there is a circumſtance, which might lead us to believe, that he was actually a ſpectator of the execution from the Minſter window, as deſcribed in the poem. In an old accompt of the Procurators of St. Ewin's church, which was then the Minſter, from xx March in the* 1 *Edward IV. to* 1 *April in the year next enſuing, is the following article, according to a copy made by Mr. Catcot from the original book.*

Item. for waſhynge the church payven ageyns Kynge Edward IV. is comynge } iiij d. ob.

Though many of the circumſtances in this poem are in their nature too inconſiderable to be generally recorded; yet we find, that there are ſtrong evidences in their favour. In the firſt place it ſeems pretty plain that Sir Baldwin mentioned by the poet, was Sir Baldwin of Fulford in Devonſhire: and farther that he had been a ſtrong advocate for the Lancaſtrian cauſe, as repreſented by Rowley: and was executed at Briſtol for his allegiance to King Henry. It is likewiſe manifeſt, that William Canynge was undoubtedly at that time Mayor: and that about the ſame time King Edward had made a progreſs in the weſt; and at laſt came to Briſtol, agreeably to the tenor of the poem. Laſtly, it is equally certain, that the Minſter was prepared for his reception; from whence, according to

the poet, he was a ſpectator of the tragedy. The hiſtory of the perſon, concerning whom we have been treating, is rather of a private nature, and the diſtance of time conſiderable; yet we find a wonderful coincidence of circumſtances in ſupport of the poet's veracity.

ROBERT CONSUL.

Rowley ſays, concerning himſelf, that as he grew old, he was liable to infirmities: and he adds,—* *After this miſchaunce I lived in a houſe by the Tower, which had not been repayred, ſince Robert Conſul of Glouceſter repayred the caſtle, and wall. Here I lived warm. —Some marks it coſt me to put in repayr my new houſe.* Of the perſon, who is mentioned in this detail, as having put the caſtle in repair, we have the following account in Leland. † *Robertus Conſul, Lorde of Brightſtowe caſtle, and founder of St. James priorie in the northe ſuburbe of Brightſtow.—King Stephen toke the town of Brightſtow by force from Robert Conſul.* Itin. vol. vii. p. 88. Again: *Robert Conſul Cownte of Gloceſtarſhire, buryed in the Quiere (in the church of St. James) in the myddle of it in a ſepulchre of gray marble ſet*

* Rowley's Memoirs: ſee Miſcell. in proſe and verſe by T. C. p. 128.

† Vol. vii. p. 85. See alſo vol. vi. p. 85.

up

up upon ſix pillars of a ſmaull hethe. In his tumbe was ſound a writynge in parchemente concernynge the tyme of his deathe, and what he was. A brewer in Brightſtow hath this writing. He is alſo mentioned by * Matthew Paris; and by † Henry of Huntingdon. Were it not for theſe fortunate atteſtations, the account of a perſon named Conſul in Rowley, would have been looked upon as a fiction. By other hiſtorians he is generally ſtiled Robertus Comes Gloceſtriencis; and Regis Henrici Nothus ‡. The account given by Rowley is rendered very plain from the evidence of theſe hiſtorians.

ROWLEY'S TOWER.

We are further informed by Rowley, that as he grew old, he became very infirm; and upon that account removed from the place, where he had for ſome time reſided, to an houſe adjoining to one of the towers near the caſtle wall. This tower (as I underſtand it)

* Fratrem Roberti Conſulis. Matt. Paris, p. 18. l. 41; alſo p. 76. l. 16.

† P. 392, 3. He ſpeaks of the title as not very uncommon: and mentions both Viri *Conſules*, et *Conſulares*. See Knighton. p. 2386. l. 43.

‡ Johan Prior de Hagulſtadt. p. 266. l. 29. Chron. Gervaſij. p. 1345. l. 60. Nothus. Johan Bromton. p. 1028. l. 14.

had not been repaired, ſince the time that Earl Robert, ſurnamed Conſul, had repaired both the wall and the caſtle. For he had in the time of King Stephen invited the Empreſs Maud into England; and accordingly had taken up arms in favour of Henry the Second, his Nephew: on which account he fortified Briſtol. But the caſtle was taken by King Stephen: and as caſtles of this ſort ſeemed only to countenance diſloyalty, and harbour rebels, they were to a great number in the next reign demoliſhed: and thoſe, which remained, were not kept up; but for the moſt part by length of time fell to ruin. Hence it is ſaid by Rowley, and, I make no doubt, very truly, that the tower next to his houſe had not been repaired from the time of Robert Earl of Glouceſter: and he intimates the ſame of the town wall and caſtle: which interval amounts to near three hundred and thirty years. There are caſtles, and remains of caſtles, which have been neglected, and in a ſtate of ruin, from that time to the preſent; which amounts to twice that number of years. We have the following account in Leland, both of the caſtle and its towers, as they appeared in his time. *In the caſtle be two cowrtes. In the utter courte, as in the northe weſte parte of it, is a greate dungeon tower, &c. There be many towres yet ſtandynge in bothe the cowrtes, but all tendithe to ruine.* Itin. v. vii. p. 84.

p. 84. It may not be improper to inſert the hiſtory of Earl Robert of Glouceſter at large, as we find it in another part of this Writer's Itinerary: eſpecially as it contains very material evidence, in favour of Rowley, concerning the repairing of the caſtle of Briſtol by this perſon. * Mabilia primogenita (Filia Roberti Haymonis) nupſit Roberto, Filio Notho Henrici Primi, quem Pater Rex Henricus integro honore de Gloceſtre inſignivit.

Hic Robertus Nothus ædificavit Prioratum 1 Jacobi Briſtolliæ; et membrum fecit Monaſterio de Theokeſbyri.

Robertus Nothus ſolebat ſingulis ſolennibus diebus habere ſecum Abbatem de Theokeſbyricum 12 monachis Briſtolliæ.

Hic Robertus *conſtruxit Caſtrum de Briſtolle*, et dedit decimum quemque lapidem Caſtri ad fabricam Capellæ S. Mariæ juxta Monaſterium 1 Jacob Briſtolliæ.

Robertus obijt prid. Cal. Novemb. ſub a°. D. 1140. a°. Stephani 12. Sepultus in choro Monaſterij S. Jacobi Briſtolliæ. Leland. Itin. vol. vi. p. 74. Leland had before given atteſtation to his being called Robert *Conſul*: as he does here to his building, or rather rebuilding, of the caſtle. Concerning his wife's father, Robert Fitz Haym, I have ſpoken before in the chapter concerning Briſtol, p. 201.

* Itin. vol. vi. p. 74.

GAUNTS.

GAUNTS.

The author having ſpoken of that noble fabric at Redcliff, which he ſtiles *Our Ladies Chyrche*, ſpeaks of the great expence, with which it was erected; and how few were capable of engaging in ſuch a purpoſe. Upon this *Truth*, which he has introduced as a perſon, gives him this excellent piece of advice.

> As thou haſt got, give almes-dedes ſoe :
> Canynges and Gaunts culde doe ne moe. p. 276.

The greateſt benefactors to Briſtol were people of theſe names. Of the former was the perſon, who by means of Rowley has been brought forth into the knowledge of the world, after a ſtate of long obſcurity. Of the latter were more than one, who are taken notice of by Leland, where he is giving an account of the place at Briſtol denominated from them. * *One Henry Gaunt, a knight, ſometime dwelling not far from Brandon hill, erected a college of Priſtes withe a maſtar on the grene by St. Auguſtines: and ſone after he chaunged the firſt foundation into a certeyne kinde of religion; and was governowr of the*

* Vol. vii. p. 85.

howſe

howſe hymſelfe, and lyethe buried in the veſterye undar a flat ſtone. This had at the deſolucion of the howſe 300 *marks of land, by the year. —This Henry had a brother cawly'd Ser Mawryce Gaunt. He was foundar of the Blake Friers in Briſtow,* Itin. v. vii. p. 86. — *The Blake Friers ſtode a litte highar than the Gray on Frome, in the right ripe of it. Ser Mawrice Gaunt, elder brother to Ser Henry Gaunt, foundar of the Gaunts, was foundar of* * *this.* Ibid. What is here ſtiled the *Gaunts,* was the Collegiate Church, and the buildings belonging to it: ſo denominated from the founder. Camden takes notice of its being erected by Sir Henry Gaunt: and farther tells us, that quitting the world he did here dedicate himſelf to the ſervice of God, p. 95. Perſons of this name are mentioned by ſeveral writers. Matthew Paris takes notice of a Maurice † Gaunt, who joined the Barons at Stamford, in the year 1215: and was afterwards together with them excommunicated by the ‡ Pope. He ſays, that the firſt of the family came over with the Conqueror; and for his ſervices had a portion of the New-

* Briſtolij Eccleſia Collegiata, nunc Hoſpitale. Fundator prioris Henricus Gaunt Miles: poſterioris Thomas Carre civis opulentus. H. Orphani. Nich. Harpsfeld. Hiſt. Eccles. Ang. p. 772.

† P. 254. l. 8.

‡ P. 277. l. 51.

Foreſt

Foreſt given him as a * reward: which William Rufus, when he occupied all that part of the country, purchaſed of him; or elſe made an exchange. Empta igitur quædam terra, vel commutata, a quodam Nobili, M. de Gaunt, qui cum Patre ſuo venerat in Angliam ad conquæſtum, et illam acceperat in ſorte retributionis, &c. p. 572. l. 5.

FITZ HARDING.

The poet ſpeaking of the Worthies of Briſtol, mentions

Fitz Hardynge, Bithrickus and twentie moe.
p. 280. v. 35.

The father of this perſon, though by birth a Dane, was in the ſervice of William of Normandy, and fought on his ſide at the battle of Haſtings. On this account he was rewarded with large demeſnes in the counties of Glouceſter and Somerſet, and reſided at Briſtol. He had ſeveral ſons, one of which was Robert, the ſame, who for his benefactions is alluded to by Rowley. He was deeply engaged on the ſide of the Empreſs Matilda,

* This was probably Gilbert de Gaunt, who is mentioned by Simeon Dunelmenſis, as employed in the north by William the Conqueror. De Geſtis Reg. Anglor. p. 198. l. 66.

and

and of her ſon Henry the Second; during their wars with Stephen of Blois: and for his ſervices had the lordſhip of Berkeley beſtowed upon him; of which Roger of Berkeley had been deprived. He reſided much at Briſtol; and is ſaid to have there entertained * Dermot Mac Murrough, King of Leinſter, in Ireland, when he came over to ſolicit the aſſiſtance of King Henry. He was noted for works of piety: and in the year 1148, he laid the foundation of the Auguſtine Monaſtery at Briſtol. Of this we have an account in Robert of Glouceſter, who ſtiles him a burgeſs of Briſtol.

† A bourgeis of Briſtowe Roberd Harding
Vor gret treſour, and richeſſe ſo wel was mid the king.
That he zef him and his eirs the noble baronie
That ſo rich is of Berkele mid al the ſeignorie.
And thulke Roberd Harding arerde ſuchthe y wis
The Abbeye at Briſtowe, that of Seint Auſtin is.

* Sir James Ware's Hiſt. of Ireland, p. 3.

† P. 479. l. 7. It has been objected to Rowley's Poems, that oftentimes for ſeveral lines together, if you change the manner of ſpelling, the language becomes modern. The ſame may be obſerved in the lines above quoted, though more ancient than Rowley by two centuries.

A burgeſs of Briſtol, Robert Harding,
For great treaſure and riches ſo well was with the king.
That he gave him and his heirs the noble barony,
That ſo rich is of Berkeley, with all the ſeignory, &c.

From hence it appears, that this objection is of little weight.

The

The foundation of this monaſtery is taken notice of by * Leland. An°. D. 1148. 3. Idus. Apr. die videlicet Paſchæ, fundatio Monaſterij S. Auguſtini Briſtol, et congregatio fratrum ejuſdem per Dnm̃. Robertum Filium Hardingi prædicti. He had juſt before given an account of his father. Hardingus ex Regiâ proſapiâ regni Daciæ oriundus fuit in tempore Gul. Conqueſtoris, & Briſtoliam inhabitavit a°. Dnī. 1069: poſtea Dn̄s de Berkeley. We are informed by † Camden, that of the ancient and original building, belonging to the monaſtery abovementioned, a great deal in his time had been pulled down. But the principal gate remained, which he ſays, was of curious workmanſhip. There was an inſcription upon it, which is to be found both in him, and in Leland. —Rex Henricus Secundus, et Dominus Robertus Filius Hardingi, Filij Regis Daciæ, hujus Monaſterij primi Fundatores. Itin. v. vii. p. 85. This Robert Fitz Harding died in the year 1170, and together with his wife Eva was buried in the monaſtery, which he had founded, and of which before his death he became a canon. Leland takes notice of this circumſtance.—An°. D. 1170. die S. Agathiæ Virginis obijt Ds. Robertus

* Itin. vol. vi. p. 43.

† P. 96, 7.

Filius

Filius Harding, Miles et Canonicus, ac fundator Monaſter. S. Auguſtini Briſtolliæ. Itin. vol. vi. p. 43. The abby in the time of King Henry the Eighth was changed to an Epiſcopal See, and endowed with ſix prebends. The ancient church is now the cathedral. Robert Fitz Harding, of whom we have been ſpeaking, had ſeveral ſons: one of which, named after him Robert, married into the family of the * Gaunts, of whom we have treated before: and his poſterity was called by that name. They were great benefactors to Briſtol. Maurice the eldeſt ſon, married into the family of the Lords of † Berkeley: and at laſt obtained that Lordſhip; and adopted the name. From this perſon the family of the Berkeleys is ſaid to be derived; for which, among other authorities, we have that of Leland. ‡ *The firſt nobilitating of the Berkeleis of Heron was about the time of Henry the Firſte or Secunde. And then bare they not the name of Berkeley but Fitz-Harding, whereof one named Robert was a Noble-man. And in proceſſe the Fitz-Hardinges married with the heyres generales of Barkeley of Doureſley; and ſo the name of Barkeleys was taken of them and continued.*

* See Dugdale's Baronage.—Berkeley.
† See Collins's Peerage. vol. iv. p. 4.
‡ Vol. vi. p. 49.

BITHRICKUS,

BITHRICKUS.

There is ſcarcely any hiſtory referred to in the poems, about which we are engaged, ſo obſcure as that of the perſon above. No mention, as far as I can find, is made of him by any of our Engliſh hiſtorians. What can be obtained, is principally from thoſe ſcantlings of intelligence, which have been tranſmitted to us through the diligence of Leland, and ſome other antiquaries, for which we are indebted to them greatly. The name itſelf is of great antiquity, and occurs more than once in the Saxon Chronicle. It is expreſſed Brictric, Bithric, Bithricus: but the name according to the true Saxon orthography, ſeems to have been Brihtric. Our writers formerly were not very uniform in the recording of names: ſo far from it, that we find the ſame name varied by an author within the compaſs of a few lines. One perſon ſo called was a weſt Saxon king, who married the daughter of Offa the Mercian: he reigned ſixteen years, and anno 800 was buried at * Wareham. There was another, the brother of Edric, who held Mercia under † Ca-

* Saxon Chron. p. 63. l. 24. † Ibid. p. 137. l. 13.

nute

nute the Great: but for his repeated treachery was by order of that prince ſlain. There was another, a ſon of Ælfget, an * Earl of Devonſhire. Theſe are expreſſed † Brihtric; from whence we may learn the true Saxon appellation of the perſon mentioned in the poems.

Leland in his Itinerary has tranſmitted a curious tract taken from the Archives of Tewkeſbury Abby. Ex libello de Antiquitate Theokeſberienſis Monaſterij. In this the benefactors and patrons of that monaſtery are enumerated: and after a ſeries of many of higher antiquity, the writer comes down to Brictricus, the ſon of Algar, who is the perſon ſpoken of by the poet. He together with his father had been a great friend to the monaſtery of Cranburne in the ſame county. ‡ Algaro ſucceſſit Brictricus; Hij ampliaverunt Monaſterium de Croneburne. We may from hence perceive, that he was a Saxon; and probably a deſcendant of Brihtric the king,

* Saxon Chron. p. 151. l. 7.

† The name however is at times varied. The brother of Edric, mentioned above, is expreſſed Brichtric by Simeon Dunelmenſis, p. 118. l. 28. Brithric by John Bromton, p. 770. l. 60. and Brictric and Brictricus by Radulf de Diceto. p. 445. l. 1. Roger Hoveden, p. 430. l. 37. We muſt not therefore wonder, if Brihtric of Briſtol had his name varied in the ſame manner.

‡ Leland. vol. vi. p. 72, 73.

who is alſo mentioned as a patron of Tewkeſbury, and is ſaid to have been buried * there. By this muſt be meant that his body had been tranſlated; for he is mentioned in the † Saxon Chronicle above quoted, to have been buried at Wareham. The laſt of this name, who was the ſon of Algar, lived at the time of the Conqueſt. He was the very perſon, whoſe lands were mortgaged to Harding, the Dane, as has been mentioned before. The hiſtory of this perſon is very extraordinary; and I believe only to be obtained from what is left us of the ancient Tewkeſbury manuſcript. It is manifeſt that he was a man of great conſequence, Earl of Glouceſter: and that among other places he held his reſidence at Briſtol. He was ſent upon an embaſſy to Normandy; and as we may infer in the time of Edward the Confeſſor. Here he ſaw the Lady Matilda, daughter of Baldwin Earl of Flanders; who conceived a great eſteem for him, and made him a tender of her love. But he rejected her offers, which in the end proved the cauſe of his ruin. She was ſoon afterwards married to a perſon of more conſequence, the Duke of Normandy, the Conqueror of England: and ever retained a bitter reſentment for the ſlight, which ſhe had ſuffered. ‡ Brictricus, Imbaſſiator in Nor-

* Leland. vol. vi. p. 72. † P. 63.

‡ Leland Itin. vol. vi. p. 73.

manniâ refutavit nuptias Matildis, poſtea Uxoris Gul. Conqueſtoris. This writer obſerves, that William afterwards got poſſeſſion of England.— * Anno D. 1066, Gulielmus Dux Normann. acquiſivit Angliam. Upon this the Queen ſeems to have taken the firſt opportunity of proſecuting her revenge; and immediately ſued to the King to have Brihtric put into her hands: which requeſt was granted. She accordingly got him ſeized in one of his lordſhips, where he happened at that time to be reſident; and ſent him cloſe priſoner to Wincheſter; in which confinement after ſome time he died. † Brictricus, Dn^{s}. Glouſtriæ captus in manerio ſuo de Hanleiâ, et Wintoniam ductus; ubi ſine liberis obijt. Hanley is in Worceſterſhire, where there was not only a manor, but a caſtle; both of which, as we learn from ‡ Camden, belonged to the Earldom of Glouceſter. Upon his death, the Queen took this lordſhip to herſelf. § Matildis Regina honorem Gloceſtriæ mortuo Brictrico cepit. When the Queen died it was ſeized upon by the King. There is another part of Leland, where this hiſtory is given; and probably from different authority: but attended with ſome miſtakes, which may be rectified by that

* Leland Itin. vol. vi. p. 73. † Ibid.

‡ Britann. p. 626. § Leland. Itin. vol. vi. p. 73.

which has preceded. He had juſt mentioned Ælwerd, Earl of Glouceſter, the reputed founder of Cranebourne Priory; and he then adds,—* *This Ælwerdus had a ſunne callid Brictrice, Erle of Gloceter aboute the tyme of the cumming of Duke Wylliam of Normandie ynto England. Matildis wife to Wylliam Conqueror aſkid Bictrice yn gifte of her husband: and, having hym, put hym yn the caſtelle of Hanley beſide Saresbyri, and ther he dyed. Sum ſay, that Matildis wold have had hym afore Duke William to her husband; but (he) refuſing it had after hard favor at her handes.* There are ſeveral miſtakes here: he was not confined in the caſtle of Hanley: nor was that caſtle near Saliſbury. The place of his confinement was at Wincheſter, where he † died; as has been ſhewn before. The author ſubjoins—*The King gave the præferment of the Counte of Gloceſter onto his wif Matilde. After it it came to Robert Fitz-Haymo of the blode of Duke Rollo, nephew onto King William Conqueror.* This happened in the time of William Rufus, as I have before mentioned. Gu-

* Leland. Itin. vol. vi. p. 85.

† Here Brihtric is called Brictrice and Bictrice by the ſame writer, within the compaſs of four or five lines: and the Queen Matilda is rendered in the ſame page, and nearly in the ſame ſpace Matilde and Matildis. Add to this, inſtead of Algar his father is called Ælward: which perſon was his grandfather. See Leland, vol. vi. p. 72.

lielmus

lielmus Rufus proceſſu temporis dedit honorem Gloceſtriæ Robeto Filio Haymonis, cum omni libertate, quâ eam tenuit Brictricus. Leland's Itin. v. vi. p. 73. With the Earldom of Gloceſter, he had the lordſhip of Briſtol. From him by his daughter Mabile it came to Robert Conſul, and others of that family, the great benefactors of that place.

And Bryſtow thour hys wyfe was alſo hys.
Rob. of Glouceſt. p. 433.

As the Conquerour firſt gave the lordſhips of Brihtric to his Queen, we find in conſequence of it, that ſome part of his eſtates was once mortgaged to Harding the Dane: for which we have the authority of Domeſday Book. It is * there ſaid, that Harding held Whitenhort in Com. Glouc. of Earl Brictric in mortgage.

As Brihtric was a perſon of ſo great power and conſequence, we may ſuppoſe, that he was not an idle ſpectator of the troubles brought upon his country, when it was invaded by the Normans; but that he took part with Harold, to oppoſe the common enemy. In ſhort ſuch an eminent perſon could not fail of being preſent at the battle of Haſtings. I do not know of any hiſtory to authenticate this: but, what is extraordinary, he is thus repreſented in the poem con-

* Domeſday Book. Glouceſter.

cerning that battle. And what is ſtill more remarkable, he is introduced at the head of the very people from Briſtol.

Bythric and Alfwold hedde the Briſtowe band.
p. 243. v. 116.

We find here, as we have in many paſſages before, a wonderful coincidence of circumſtance, in confirmation of the hiſtory afforded us by the poet.

FESCAMP, or FESCHAMP.

In the Memoirs of Sir William* Canninge, Rowley informs us, that he tranſlated the Battle of Haſtings from a Saxon Mſſ. which he had purchaſed. That one copy of it he left with Maſter Pelham of Aſhley; who was to have given him a compenſation for his trouble. But upon his making him a viſit on that account afterwards, he was greatly diſappointed; and could obtain neither money nor copy. And the reaſon was this; as he informs us himſelf:—*I did goe to Aſhley to maſter Pelham*, &c.—*but his ladie being of the family of the Fiſcamps, of whom ſome things are ſaid, he told me, he had burnt it; and would*

* See Miſcell. in proſe and verſe, by T. Chatterton, London 1778. p. 127.

have

have me burnt too, if I did not avaunt. During this dinn his wife did come out, and made a dinn, to ſpeak by a figure, wou'd have overſounded the bells of our Ladie of the Cliffe. I was fain content to gett away in a ſafe ſkinn. The circumſtances alluded to, which gave this great offence, are contained in the following lines.

> Nexte Feſcampe felle, O Chreiſte, how harde his fate,
> To die the leckedſt knyghte of all the thronge!
> His ſprite was made of malice deſlavate,
> Ne ſhoulden find a place in anie ſonge, &c.
>
> p. 254. v. 341.

This was, what aggrieved the Lady ſo ſorely: who, it ſeems, could not bear the diſgrace, which was brought upon her family.

If C. were the author of this poem, I cannot conceive, how he could arrive at this name: nor what could induce him to annex this piece of hiſtory to it. I know, it has been ſaid, that he might eaſily have acceſs to the books, which contain Battle roll; and from thence borrow this name with many others that he has introduced. But what reaſon is there to think, he had ever heard of Battle roll; or that he was the leaſt converſant in the books in which it is contained? Beſides, the name in that liſt, as we find it in Hollinſhed, is Fliſchampe: and if that be not the name, it is not to be found there at all. If C. had acceſs to this liſt, how came

he not to copy the name as he found it? By ſome it is expreſſed Feſkamp; particularly in the liſt of Grafton: and that of Wilhelm de Worceſtre by Hearne. The true hiſtory of it is this. The names of the nobility and gentry, who attended William the Conquerour, were for the moſt part taken from the places of their reſidence in Normandy. Such were Sacchevile, Lungvile, Bernvile, Greenvile; Lungchampe, Beauchampe; and among others, Feſchamp. It is the name of a ſmall town, not a great way from Dieppe; but ſtill nearer to Havre and Harfleur. I cannot be induced to believe, that C. was appriſed of this, for his knowledge in geography will be found to be very limited; of which I ſhall afford good proof. The true name was certainly Feſcampe, or Feſchampe.

As to the character given to this unfortunate knight in the poem, it was undoubtedly ſo exhibited in the original, which Rowley copied: and the account of the lady's reſentment upon this ſcore, with all its conſequences, is too artleſs, and too well connected to have been a forgery. The only hiſtorian, who like Rowley has tranſmitted this name truly, is Matthew Paris. He ſpeaks of one of the family, who was made Prior of Wymondham, or Wyndham, in Norfolk. But he, like his anceſtor, was found deficient,

as

as we learn from this writer. * Loco autem Radulphi de Witeby, Prioris de Wymondham, Gulielmum de Feſchamp, virum minus quam expediret diſcretum, ſubrogavit Abbas. In conſequence of his inability, he was ſoon turned out. I mentioned above the name being by † Rowley and Matt. Paris tranſmitted *truly:* My reaſon is, becauſe it agrees with the name of the place in Normandy, from whence it was taken: which is a ſure teſt.

However, it is certain, that though ſome of this name may have behaved ill, yet it was a reſpectable family: one of which, called Remigius, was in the reign of Rufus, Biſhop of Dorcheſter: but finding that the place was not of ſufficient note, being greatly fallen to decay, he had the intereſt to have the See removed to Lincoln. He is ſpoken of as a perſon of a noble and liberal mind by William of ‡ Malmſbury, and others. One inſtance of his munificence appears in his building at his own coſt the Cathedral of his new See. He was oppoſed in the proſecution of this work by Thomas the Archbiſhop of

* Vitæ Sancti Albani Abbatum. p. 121.

† By Rowley it is expreſſed Feſcampe: by Matthew Paris Feſchamp: the difference is of little conſequence.

‡ See Will. Malmſburienſis de Pontificibus. p. 290. Lambarde's Typ. and Hiſt. Dict. p. 91, and 182.

York:

* York: but we are told by Henry of Huntingdon, that he did not regard his obſtructions. † Remigius vero nihil ducens impetitionem ejus non ſegniter opus inceptum peregit: peractumque Clericis doctrinâ et moribus approbatiſſimis decoravit. Erat ſiquidem ſtaturâ parvus, ſed corde magnus: colore fuſcus, ſed operibus venuſtus. He lived to ſee the completion of this great work: but died in 1092, two days before the dedication. Le Neve mentions him, and expreſſes his name truly ‡ Feſchamp.

NIGEL or NYGELLE.

The poet in his ſecond Eclogue introduces a perſon, whoſe father is gone with King Richard Coeur de Lion, in his war to the Holy-Land: and for whoſe ſafety he offers up his prayers.

Sprytes of the bleſte, the pious Nygelle ſed
Poure oute yer pleſaunce onn mie fadres hedde. p. 6.

I take this poem to be of great antiquity; nearly as old as the times, to which it refers:

* Rerum Ang. Script. poſt Bedam. p. 290. See Henry Knyghton de Event. Ang. 2364.

† Rerum Ang. Script. poſt Bedam. p. 371. The like is mentioned in Chronicle of John Bromton. p. 983.

‡ Faſti. p. 148.

though

though it ſeems to have ſuffered ſome alteration by the principal perſon, through whoſe hands we have received it. We my ſuppoſe the Nygelle, who is made the Speaker, from his being ſtiled the pious, to have been ſome ſaint-like perſonage: and probably an Abbot or Prior of a monaſtery, founded by one of his family. In this Eclogue he anticipates all that he wiſhes; and gives a curious and prophetic deſcription of the landing of the Chriſtian army in Paleſtine; and of the ſucceſſes in conſequence of it. By the ſequel we find, that his father was one of thoſe, who had embarked in this expedition with King Richard: and whom he has the ſatisfaction to ſee upon his return landing from his ſhip; before he had well finiſhed the invocation made for his ſafety.

The name ſeems to have been very ancient; and came firſt to England with the Conqueror. It appears to have been originally from Coutances in Normandy; as we may infer from William Gemiticenſis, p. 634. l. 33. One of this name was at the Holy War, as we may learn from John Bromton, p. 1191: who mentions Nigel de Mowbray among thoſe, who loſt their lives during the ſiege of Acra: A. D. 1191. It may not be eaſy to determine preciſely concerning the perſon referred to by the poet;

and whom he makes the ſpeaker in the poems. Yet ſo much light may poſſibly be obtained, as to ſhew ſome propriety in the invocation; and that a real fact was alluded to.

I have mentioned, that this perſon from his title of *pious*, ſeems to have belonged to ſome religious houſe: which might have been founded by one of this name. For we read of people denominated, Nigel and Fitz-Nigel, who were remarkable for their devotion; and were the founders of ſeveral churches, and convents. We find by Harpſfield, that a monaſtery exiſted at Greſley in Derbyſhire, founded by one of this name. Greſleyæ Templum Sancti Georgij fundavit Gulielmus de Lyons, dictus Fitz-Nigell, Normannus, p. 751. Another church and convent is mentioned by the ſame writer in Cheſhire at Norton. Templum Sanctæ Mariæ fundavit Gulielmus Fitz-Nigel, p. 751. A third occurs near Oxford. Oxonij Templum Sanctæ Mariæ Oſneyenſis fundavit Robertus filius Nigelli, fratris Roberti D'Oiley Normanni. A.D. 1129. Monachi Nigri Canones. Harpsfield, p. 768. This place is ſpoken of at large by Lambarde; who ſays, that the convent was erected at the perſuaſion of Edith, the wife of this Robert. And that ſhe was led to it by the conſtant chattering of ſome Pies, whenever ſhe took her walks

in

in the meads of Oſney. This chattering of the birds was interpreted to her by a Canon of St. Frideſwyde, as an admonition towards that pious purpoſe. * Typog. Hiſt. p. 260. This Robert, or at leaſt a perſon of the ſame name, is mentioned by Leland as a benefactor to the monaſtery of Bethleſdene. Vol. vi. p. 42. A Nigel de Mowbray founded the Priory of Saint Mary Overies. And a perſon of the ſame name confirmed many lands to the Monks of Monkſkerby in Warwickſhire; which had been given by Nigel his grandfather, and by other anceſtors. Dugdale, vol. iii. p. 231. a. In the reign of Rufus there was a Nigel, Abbot of Lilleſhull in agro Salopienſi. Dugd. vol. ii. p. 144. There were likewiſe biſhops of this name: one of which is mentioned as preſiding at Ely, in the year 1130. There was alſo a Nigel, a Monk of Canterbury, who lived in the time of Richard the Firſt, and is taken notice of by T. Hearne in his notes to William of Newbury, p. 806. He mentions a letter of this perſon to William Biſhop of Ely, in which he complained of ſome of the clergy being expelled from the churches of Canterbury and Wincheſter. The biſhop to whom he wrote, was William Longchamp, whom we find to have been conſecrated in

* See alſo Dugdale's Monaſt. vol. ii. p. 136.

the year 1189: which was the firſt of the above King Richard. The hiſtory of this Nigel agrees very well with the times alluded to in the poem: but whether he is the perſon there mentioned cannot be determined. Perſons of this name occur in Doomſday Book, among thoſe who held lands of the Conqueror. It does not ſeem to have been ſtrictly an hereditary name; yet it ran in particular families.

CHRISTMAS GAMES.

The account given of theſe games, was compoſed by C.; and contains very little that is new or ſatisfactory. Yet he had a retroſpect to the Mſſ. which he had read; and out of theſe produced, in an irregular manner, what little he had gained. One inſtance to this purpoſe we may perceive in the following account. * *A Regiſter of the Nunnery of Keynſham relates, that William, earl of Gloceſter, entertained two hundred knights with tilts and fortunys, at his great manor of Keynſham.* This place had been a nunnery, and lay in ruins: but was rebuilt by the perſon above mentioned. To this Leland bears witneſs, who ſpeaks of him by name. *Wil-*

* Miſcell. in proſe and verſe by T. C. p. 131.

liam

liam Erle of Gloceſtar, foundar of the Monaſterye of Caineſham, gave the præfecture and Maſturſhipe of the Schole in Brightſtow to Caineſham, and tooke it from the Calenderies. Itin. vol. vi. p. 74. Of the hoſpitality of the family I have ſpoken before, in the account given of Robert, the father of this perſon. Robertus Nothus ſolebat ſingulis ſolennibus diebus habere ſecum Abbatem de Theokeſbyri cum 12 Monachis Briſtoliæ. ib. vol. viii. p. 74. This Abbey of Cainſham was changed at its reſtoration to an houſe of Black Fryars. Keynſhamiæ Templum Sanctæ Mariæ fundavit Gulielmus Dux Gloceſtriæ. M. Nigri Monachi. Harpsfeld, p. 772. Leland tells us, that Robert, the firſt Earl died,—pridie Cal. Novembres ſub. aº. D. 1140, &c. He then adds—Gulielmus ejus filius ſucceſſit. Duxit in uxorem Hawiſiam filiam Comitis Leirceſtriæ, genuitque ex eâ Robertum, qui ante patrem obijt.

Sepultus fuit Robertus in Abbatiâ de Caineſham, quam Gulielmus ejus Pater in filij ſui Roberti memoriam erexerat. Itin. l. 6. p. 74.

FORTUNIES.

That Chatterton had manuſcripts before him, from whence he extracted ſome of theſe ſhort

ſhort hiſtories, I am perſuaded, both from theſe hiſtories being ſo remote, and difficult to be traced; and alſo from the terms, with which they are accompanied, being ſo very uncommon. An inſtance to this purpoſe we have in the paſſage above, about William Earl of Glouceſter—*who entertained two hundred knights with tilts and fortunys.* One would at firſt think that this was a miſtake for *tilts* and *tournys.* But it is not ſo: for we find, that of old Tournaments were ſtiled *Fortunes.* Accordingly Matthew Paris, treating of the reign of Henry the Third, ſpeaks of a ſolemn tilting, held by the Earl Mareſchal Gilbert, near * Hertford, in which he loſt his life: and he ſtiles it fortunium. Dum autem temporum volubilitas mundo diverſis ſic caſibus alluderet, et illuderet, Comes Mareſcallus Gelebertus, cum quibuſdam alijs nobilibus juxta Hertfordiam, quantum jacit Arcubaliſta, more militari, quoddam Haſtiludium, quod vulgariter *fortunium*——appellatur, ad virium ceperat et exercuit experimenta. p. 565. l. 47. It occurs in another place, where the king is expoſtulating with the brother of the deceaſed. Et tu, Waltere,

* According to Robert of Glouceſter, the Tournament was at Ware.

At the tornment of Wareine Sir Gilebert the Marſchal
Defouled was thoru meſauntre, &c. p. 529. l. 29.

qui

qui me invito et prohibente, in contemptum meum, ipſe torneamento interfuiſti, et ſophiſticè illud *Fortunium* appellâſti, quâ ratione, quâ fronte, poſtulas hæreditatem? Ibid. p. 572. l. 47.—Fortunium: Haſtiludium, torneamentum. Du Cange. The term ſeems to be peculiar to England: and even here by no means very common.

FARTHER OBSERVATIONS upon the Ordination of Maſter W. Canynge.

The account given of this event, and alſo of the cauſe by which it was brought about, is thus deſcribed in the * Memoirs by Rowley. *In the year Kyng Edward came to Briſtow, maſter Cannings ſend for me to avoide a marrige which the Kyng was bent upon between him and a Ladie he neer had ſeen, of the familee of the † Widdeviles. The danger were nigh, unleſs avoided by one remedee, an holie one, which was, to be ordained a ſonn of holy church, beyng franke from the power of Kynges in that caſe, and cannot be wedded.—Mr. Cannings inſtauntly ſent me to Carpenter, his good friend,*

* See Miſcell. in proſe and verſe, &c.—by Thomas Chatterton, p. 125, 6.

† It is ſo expreſſed in the account given by Mr. Tyrwhitt in his Preface to Rowley's Poems, p. xxiii.

biſhop of Worceſter; and the fryday following was prepaird and ordaynd the nexte day, the daie of St. Mathew, and on Sunday ſung his firſt maſs in the church of our Ladie, to the aſtoniſhing of Kyng Edward, &c. I have mentioned the very curious evidence brought by Mr. Tyrwhitt from the Worceſter * Regiſter in confirmation of this hiſtory. By that we are informed, that Mr. Cannynge was ordained by Biſhop Carpenter on the 19th of September, and received the higher orders afterwards. This is a ſtrong atteſtation to the truth of Rowley, both in reſpect to the matter of fact, and the time of year, when it happened. The Biſhop's Regiſter ſays, that it was upon the 19th of September: and in the account given by Rowley, it is marked by the day of St. Matthew; which is preciſely the ſame ſeaſon of the year.

But the whole may be ſtill proved to a greater degree of accuracy. In the account by Rowley we are only told, that Cannynge was examined upon a Friday, admitted upon a Saturday, and then did duty upon a Sunday. On the other hand, the Biſhop's Regiſter ſpecifies the year, when he was admitted, to have been 1467; and the day of the month, *the 19th of September.* Here then is the teſt, by which the authenticity of our author is

* See Introduction to Rowley's Poems, p. xxiii.

to

to be tried. If theſe evidences on each ſide do not correſpond, the whole falls to the ground. Was therefore the 19th of September, in the year ſpecified, a *Saturday*; and was the preceding day (the 18th) a *Friday*: and the ſubſequent in conſequence of it a *Sunday*, as Rowley has taught us to ſuppoſe? Laſtly, do we find at this ſeaſon of the year the faſt of St. Matthew? It may be proved, that every one of theſe circumſtances is true: for by a retro-calculation it will appear, that the 19th of September was a *Saturday*; and the other days of the week preciſely as repreſented: all which, in reſpect to the writer's veracity, is little ſhort of demonſtration.

I once thought, that there was a ſmall miſtake in the account above given, which had ariſen from the words not being accurately tranſcribed: and could be rectified with great eaſe. We find, that the affair of Maſter Canynge was very preſſing: and there was no time to be loſt. The parties therefore, which were concerned, made uſe of the greateſt expedition. According to the words of the tranſcript—*On the friday Canninge was prepared, and ordaynd the next day, the daie of* ST. MATHEW; and on SUNDAY *ſung his firſt Maſs*. But the next day to Friday, the 18th, was Saturday the 19th, which could not be the day of St. Matthew: for the day of that

Saint is the 20th of September; and marked in the Calendar D. And as the Sunday letter for the year 1467 was D, the day of St. Matthew, that is the vigil or faſt, does not regularly come next to Friday; but muſt properly have fallen upon a Sunday. Hence it is plain, that Friday was the 18th, and Saturday the 19th of that month: which Saturday intervened between Friday, and the day of St. Matthew. There are three facts mentioned of Canynge; which took up the ſame number of days for their completion: his *preparation*, *admiſſion*; and his *firſt performance* of ſervice in the church, all which by the Regiſter of Worceſter are ſhewn to have been compleated at the time, and upon the very days, ſpecified by the author. The only ſeeming defect was the placing of St. Matthew's day upon the 19th, or Saturday, inſtead of Sunday. But I was aſſured by a very learned friend, that every thing was right: for it was the conſtant uſage of the church, when the feſtival happened upon a Monday, to keep the faſt on the Saturday preceding, and not on the Sunday. And, I believe, in all Collegiate Churches and Colleges the cuſtom is ſtill adhered to.

This is a very extraordinary confirmation of the hiſtory: and the proceſs, which was ſhort in conſequence of the exigency, may from hence be very ſatisfactorily made out.

Rowley

Rowley was about the middle of September ſent to the Biſhop at Weſtbury. His words are, Mr. Canynges *inſtauntly ſent me:* and we may preſume, that Canynge immediately followed, upon the Biſhop being ready to admit him. The courſe of the tranſaction in all its circumſtances was in the following order.

September 1467. Sunday Letter D.

E	14	
F	15	
G	16	On Wedneſday, or
A	17	Thurſday, Rowley ſent to Bp. Carpenter.
B	18	Friday, Canynge goes over, & is prepared.
C	19	Saturday, the Faſt of St. Matthew; he is ordained.
D	20	Sunday—He firſt performs duty.
E	21	Monday, the Feaſt of St. Matthew.

The words of Rowley are therefore in every reſpect true. *Mr. Cannings inſtauntly ſent me to Carpenter, his good friend, Biſhop of Worceſter; and the Friday following was prepaird; and ordaynd the nexte day, the day of St. Matthew: and on Sunday, ſung his firſt maſs in the church of our Ladie.*

I have taken notice, that Canynge after all, was obliged to pay three thouſand marks to obtain the king's forgiveneſs: a ſum incredible, were it not for the evidence of William

of Worceſtre. He mentions the fact at large: and ſhews from the immenſe trade and wealth of this perſon, that it was no more than might be expected from him. In ſhort, though the hiſtories be remote, of a private nature, and obſcure, yet moſt of the circumſtances mentioned by Rowley concerning his friend Canynge; of his riches, magnificence and repute; alſo of his brother and family; of Biſhop Carpenter, and his ordination under him, &c. &c. are verified by ſubſequent writers.

It is to be obſerved, that in the account above given by Rowley of his valuable friend; he, who before was ſtiled ſimply Maſter William Canynge, is now diſtinguiſhed by the title of Sir William. From hence ſome have been led to think, that he had been * knighted by King Edward. But the truth is, he had now been admitted into holy orders; and was a prieſt: and it is upon this account, that the title is conferred. It was expreſſed both *Sir* and *Sire*, and we have the following curious hiſtory of it in Mr. Tyrwhitt's Gloſſary to his excellent Edition of Chaucer. *Sire: n. Fr. Sieur, Seigneur. A reſpectful title given formerly to men of various deſcriptions, as well as to knights. Sire Knight*, 839.

* See Miſcell. in proſe and verſe by T. C. p. 118.

Sire

Sire Clerk, 842. *Sire Monk*, 3120.——*It was ſo uſually given to prieſts, that it has even crept into Acts of Parliament.*——*Hence a Sir John came to be a nickname for a Prieſt.* See Gloſſ. vol. v. p. 192. Agreeably to this in theſe very poems, we read more than once of Sir Roger the Parſon, p. 13. v. 17. and of a perſon ſtiled Sir Prieſt. To theſe might be added numberleſs inſtances from other writers; particularly the noted Sir Hugh Evans in Shakeſpear. I have before mentioned the atteſtation of William de Worceſtre, concerning the hiſtory of this celebrated perſon Canynge. He there ſpeaks of his death, which happened in the year 1474: and ſtiles him * *Dominus* Willelmus Canynges: which agrees with the title of *Sir* given in Engliſh. Had he ſpoken of him before his ordination in 1467, he would have only called him—*Magiſter*. There is a happy concurrence of circumſtances in all theſe inquiries: and freſh light ſeems continually to ariſe in confirmation of the whole.

* P. 83.

AUTHORITIES

FOR PERSONS MENTIONED IN THE

BATTLE OF HASTINGS.

OBſervations upon the Names in different Liſts
The Sieur de Bonneboe
Names of Saxons
Bithric or Brictric
Alric and Algar
Eilward
Alfie
Alured
Alfwold
Goodrick
Toſſelin
Mervyn
Herewarde
Bertram
Normanne
Manne
Tatwyne
Continuation.

AUTHO-

AUTHORITIES

FOR PERSONS MENTIONED BY THE POET IN THE

BATTLE OF HASTINGS.

THE names of the Normans, which occur in this poem, are in great meaſure found to correſpond with the records of the times. Thoſe, who are willing to believe, that the young man of Briſtol was the author of theſe compoſitions, ſuppoſe, that he got his intelligence from the well-known Roll of Battle Abby. But that liſt will not ſuffice for one half of the perſons mentioned: though their names may be in great meaſure aſcertained from other authorities. There are ſeveral liſts beſides that of Battle: but they are ſo little obvious, that I can hardly think, that Chatterton was at all acquainted with them: though he is ſaid to have had acceſs to a *Circulating Library*. This muſt have been but

but a poor help towards the obtaining of that knowledge, with which theſe poems abound. In reſpect to the liſts ſpoken of, there are eight, of which I ſhall principally make uſe: and they all differ greatly from one another. In Holinſhed we have two of them; the Norman catalogue, taken from the Chronicles of William Tailleur; and the Roll of Battle: and in Stow we meet with the ſame: yet I ſpeak of them as different liſts, becauſe they are found very unlike upon comparing. Stow has likewiſe preſerved another catalogue to the ſame purpoſe, for which, he ſays, he was indebted to Maiſter Thomas Scriven, Eſquire. To theſe ſix is to be added a liſt preſerved by John Bromton, and to be found in the collection ſtiled, Scriptores Angliæ Decem. p. 963. The names are claſſed in couplets according to their terminations, and made to rhyme. The laſt liſt is that of Wilhelmus Wyrceſter; to be found in Hearne's Edition of the Liber Niger Scaccarij, vol. ii. p. 522. The names are here too for the moſt part claſſed according to their terminations, but not in rhyme. Both Hollinſhed and Stow have applied to the ſame ſource for intelligence: to the Chronicles of William, or Guilliam, Tailleur for the Norman Chronicle; and to the Battle Roll for the other liſt. But they vary greatly both in reſpect to numbers and names. Ac-

cording

cording to Holinſhed, the former contains the names of 260 perſons. The Battle liſt 644. According to Stow, the former has but 151 names; and the latter but 406. In Grafton the Roll of Battle amounts to 647. In the ancient catalogue from Maſter Thomas Scriven, there are only 375. The Chronicle of John Bromton affords only 240: that of Wilhelm of Wyrceſter amount to 323. Theſe all differ from one another: and have each ſome particular names, which are not preſerved by the other writers. Hence, what is not to be found in ſeven liſts, may often be obtained from the eighth. The names may be ſtill farther authenticated from the Norman nobility, mentioned in the early reigns after the Conqueſt by Matthew Paris, and other writers. The hiſtories alſo of many of the perſons may by theſe helps be aſcertained.

How much one catalogue varies from another, may in ſome degree be ſeen from the ſubſequent ſcheme: where all the Norman names, mentioned by the poet, are introduced in a column: and oppoſite are placed the ſeveral liſts, in which they are to be found.

G. ſignifies

G.	ſignifies the Battle Roll by Grafton.
H. N. C.	Holinſhed's Norman Catalogue.
H. B. R.	Holinſhed's Battle Roll.
S. N. C.	Stow's Norman Catalogue.
S. B. R.	Stow's Battle Roll.
T. S.	The Liſt of Thomas Scriven.
I. B.	The Liſt of John Bromton.
W. W.	The Liſt of Wilhelm of Wyrceſter.

	G.	H. N. C.	H. B. R.	S. N. C.	S. B. R.	T. S.	I. B.	W. W.	
Anguillain	G.	- -	- -	- -	B. R.				
Aubene	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	T. S.			
D'Aubignie	- -	N. C.	B. R.	N. C.					
Auffroi	- -	- -	- -	N. C.					
De Beque	G.	- -	B. R.	N. C.	B. R.				
De Beere	- -	- -	- -	N. C.	B. R.				
Du Broque	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	W. W.	Broc.
Beaumonte	G.	N. C.	B. R.	- -	- -	- -	I. B.		
Bonoboe	- -	N. C.	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	Bonnobault.
Du Burlie	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	T. S.	- -	W. W.	
Bote Villain	- -	- -	B. R.	- -	- -	- -	I. B.	W. W.	G. Boteville.
Claremond	- -	- -	B. R.						
Campygnon	G.	- -	- -	- -	B. R.	- -	- -	- -	Campeny.
Chantillon	G.	- -	B. R.	- -	B. R.	- -	I. B.	- -	Chantelow.
Chatelet	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	W. W.	Chattelein.
Chivellois	G.	- -	B. R.	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	Shevile.
Deſtoutville	G.	N. C.	B. R.	- -	- -	T. S.			
Sieur Doullie	- -	- -	- -	N. C.					
Feſcampe	- -	N. C.	B. R.	N. C.	- -	T. S.	- -	W. W.	Fliſcamp and Fleſcamp.
Fitz du Gore	G.	- -	B. R.	- -	B. R.	- -	- -	W. W.	G. Gower.
De Griel	G.	- -	B. R.						
Hubert	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	T. S.	- -	W. W.	
Fitz Hugh	G.	- -	B. R.	- -	B. R.	T. S.	- -	W. W.	
Longville	G.	N. C.	- -	N. C.	B. R.	- -	I. B.	W. W.	G. Logeville.
Du Laque									

Bartrammel Manne	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	T. S.			
Du Moline	- -	N. C.	- -	N. C.	- -	- -	I. B.		
Norcei	G.	- -	B. R.	- -	B. R.	- -	- -	- -	Noreice, Norece.
Neville	- -	- -	B. R.	- -	B. R.	- -	I. B.	W. W.	
Nabour	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	I. B.	- -	Nebors.
Normanne									
Partais	- -	N. C.	- -	N. C.	- -	- -	- -	- -	Partenais, and Patais.
Pierce	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	T. S.	- -	W. W.	
Fitz Port	- -	- -	- -	N. C.					
Pikenny	G.	- -	B. R.	N. C.	B. R.	- -	I. B.		
Du Roee	G.	- -	B. R.	- -	B. R.	T. S.	I. B.	W. W.	Roes, Rose, Rous.
Sarnarville	- -	N. C.	- -	N. C.	- -	- -	- -	- -	Salnarville.
Sancelotte									
De Tracie	G.	N. C.	B. R.	N. C.	- -	T. S.	- -	W. W.	
Du Torcie	G.	N. C.							
Tankarville	G.	N. C.	- -	N. C.					
Troy Villain	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	perhaps Trevillian.
Viponte	- -	N. C.	- -	- -	- -	- -	I. B.		
Du Valle	G.	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	W. W.	Surdeival for Sieur du Val.
Walleris	G.	- -	- -	N. C.					
Warren	G.	- -	B. R.	- -	B. R.	T. S.	I. B.		
Romara	- -	N. C.	- -	N. C.					
Villain	G.	- -	B. R.	- -	B. R.	- -	- -	- -	Vilan.

OBSERVATIONS upon the NAMES.

I have mentioned, that many of theſe names, introduced by the poet, are to be found in our Engliſh hiſtorians: particularly in Matthew Paris; and in that collection, ſtiled Hiſtoriæ Anglicæ Scriptores Antiqui. Of theſe names the following are the moſt remarkable. Aubeney, Beer, Beaumont, Beke, Broque or Broc, Burlie, Botevilayne, Clermont, Greyle, Moleyns, Nebors, Noreice, Pikenny, D'Eſtoutville, Tracy, Tankerville, Warren.

But however they may be by theſe means authenticated, we may from this inveſtigation, and from the diſpoſition of the ſcheme above, perceive, that they lie ſcattered, and are not uniformly to be obtained from any writer: nor without long and laborious inquiry. And even when they are ſuppoſed to be found, they are not always expreſſed preciſely in the ſame manner. Some of the names appear at firſt ſo ſtrange, that were it not for the evidences above afforded, one would imagine, that they never exiſted; but that they were formed at hazard to fill up the poem. Such are the Sieur Doullie and Bartrammel Manne, and the Sieur de Bonneboe. For ſome few

there ſeems to be no authority; ſuch as the Sieur de Laque: unleſs we ſuppoſe this to be a miſtake for de Lacy. A perſon of this name appears to have been of great eminence; and upon his ſettling in England, had large poſſeſſions given him by the Conquerour. In like manner the perſon called by the poet Chivellois is the ſame, who by William of Worceſtre is ſtiled *Shevile*. And we may preſume, that Chantillon is no other than the *Chantelow* of Battle Roll and Bromton. Hence we may perceive, that in ſome inſtances the names are more truly expreſſed by the poet, than by ſome of our hiſtorians. For the proper name of Normanne we have no authority in any liſt: I ſhall however bring ſufficient evidence hereafter, that ſuch a perſon exiſted; and that he came over with the Conquerour.

The SIEUR DE BONNEBOE.

This perſon is ſaid to have been ſlain by Egelrede in the Battle above mentioned: and the account given of him agrees well with the hiſtory of the times. We are informed, that in the reign of King Edward he had made a viſit to that prince: whoſe court is known to have ſwarmed with foreigners. He there

there at a Tournament won the heart of a Saxon lady, whom he married, and carried with him to Normandy: and by her he had two children. But being obliged to attend the Duke in his expedition againſt Harold, he had the misfortune to be ſlain in the battle. The poet ſays of Egelrede—

He couch'd hys launce, and ran wyth mickle myghte
Ageinſte the breſt of Sieur de Bonoboe.
p. 216. v. 135.

He dy'd and leffed wyfe and chyldren tweine,
Whom he wyth cheryſhment did dearlie love;
In Englandes court in goode Kynge Edward's regne,
He wonne the tylt, and ware her crymſon glove, &c.

And thence unto the place, where he was borne
Together with hys welthe, and better wyfe,
To Normandie he dyd perdie returne,
In peace and quietneſſe to lead his lyfe,
And now wyth ſovrayn Wyllyam he came,
To die in battel, &c. p. 217.

The name of this perſon does not occur in the liſts of Battle Roll; nor in that of John Bromton, but it is undoubtedly the ſame, which is mentioned in the Chronicles of Normandy, and expreſſed Le Seigneur Bonnebault. This Boneboe, or Bonnebault, was one of the principal perſons, who led the Archers of * Rueil and Bretviel, with thoſe from other places in Normandy: to whoſe

* Chron. of Normandy by Guilliam Tayleur; quoted by Stow, p. 104.

ſkill and addreſs the victory of Haſtings was chiefly owing.

The names, of which we have been treating, were obvious to a perſon of the times, and ever ready to be produced, when the writer had occaſion to mention them. But it is ſeen in reſpect to us, who live ſo long after the event, how ſcattered they lie, and how difficult to be obtained. The compoſition muſt therefore have been by an early hand. To think that the real author went, and gleaned for theſe evidences, is idle. Whoever goes ſo far for ſtraw and ſtubble to make his bricks will never raiſe an edifice.

NAMES OF SAXONS.

Farther Obſervations concerning Brithric or Brictric.

If we meet with theſe difficulties in our reſearches concerning the Normans, there will be found ſtill greater in reſpect to the Saxons; of whom no liſts have been tranſmitted. The brothers of Harold, (Toſti, Gyrth, and Leofyne) are well known. They were too much intereſted in the revolution, which happened, not to be recorded. But of the other perſons mentioned on the ſame ſide, there is hardly a trace left in the accounts

of thoſe times: ſo that to many they may have appeared as imaginary characters, the work of poetical fancy. For it is not only difficult to get any inſight into the general occurrences of their lives; but even to arrive at authorities for their names: as hardly any of them are to be found, where we might moſt naturally expect them. Yet ſuch perſons did really exiſt, as ſhall be abundantly ſhewn. They were of great rank and eminence in their time; and had large poſſeſſions; however ſilent hiſtorians may be concerning them. In ſhort they were by no means imaginary perſonages, as has been, I believe, by many ſurmiſed.

It happens fortunately, that there are ſome evidences ſtill remaining, though not very obvious, by which their hiſtory may be authenticated. Theſe, to which I allude, may be found in Doomſday Book: where the identity of the perſons ſpoken of, may with great probability be aſcertained from the eſtates, which were forfeited at the Conqueſt. * Brictric, of whom I have before made mention,

* This name is expreſſed Brictric, Brittrick, Bithric, and Brihtric. There was, as I have before mentioned, a king of the Weſt Saxons ſo called, who married Edburga, the daughter of King Offa. His name is rendered by Robert of Brun, Brittrick: in the Saxon Chronicle Byrthric: and Brithrick by Speed, and ſeveral

tion, is no where taken notice of by any regular hiſtorian. We caſually learn from Leland, that he was the ſon of Algar. And he was alſo Earl of Gloceſter, and Lord of Hanley: in conſequence of which he held other lands in the county of Worceſter; where that lordſhip was ſituated. This we may learn from the evidence of the Doomſday Record.

* De eodem manerio tenuit Brictric, filius Algar, unam hidam ad Biſelege (in Com. Wirceſtre) &c.—modo eſt in manu Regis Willelmi.

De eodem manerio tenuit Brictric filius Algari unam hidam ad Burgelege, eodem modo, quo ſupradictam. Nunc eſt in manu Regis ibid.

We find that it is ſaid of this perſon, *tenuit: he did once hold theſe lands:* becauſe, at the time of this book being compiled, great

veral other writers. In the proſe additions to the Mſſ. of Robert of Glouceſter, it is expreſſed Brightric. See Chron. of P. Langtoft by Rob. of Brun. p. 12. b. notes. Hence Brictric, Bithric, Brihtric, &c. are undoubtedly the name of the ſame perſon varied.

* Hemingi Chartæ Eccleſ. Wigorn. a T. Hearne, p. 491. I obtained this intelligence from the book referred to. But I have ſince had an opportunity of conſulting the original, by the means of my moſt intelligent and excellent friend George Roſe, Eſquire, Keeper of the Records in the Receipt of Exchequer, &c.: to whoſe furtherance and friendſhip I am greatly indebted.

part

part of his lands had been alienated; and were in the poſſeſſion of other people. The eſtates above are ſaid to be, in manu Regis: alſo in manu Regis Willelmi, *in the hands of William the King*. The term in general is *tenet* in the preſent tenſe. Whenever it is the paſt, it relates to forfeited lands: and the perſons may be known to have been Saxons by their names.

How powerful Brictric muſt have been, may be known from the other eſtates, of which he was deprived. I have before taken notice of the Queen's reſentment towards him: in conſequence of which, as ſoon as ever ſhe arrived at any influence, ſhe ſeized upon the beſt of his lands. Of this we have a ſtrong proof in the account given in Doomſday Book of Devonſhire.

Infra Scriptas terras tenuit Brictric: et poſt Mathildis Regina. p. 101. b.

Theſe lands were very ample, and lay in the pariſhes of Levia, Halgewelle, Clovelie, Bedeford, Liteham, Langtreve, and ten more. In another place, mention is made of lands ſeized by the Queen in Dorſetſhire: among which were thoſe of Creneburne, Aiſemare, and Medeſham: and at the cloſe it is ſaid, Hæc tria maneria tenuit Brictric tempore Regis Eduardi, p. 75. c. His largeſt poſſeſſions ſeem to have been in the county, of

which he was Earl. He held Turneberie, Sopeberie, Aveninge, and Fairford. Of the laſt it is ſaid: Hoc manerium tenuit Mathildis Regina. p. 163. d. He alſo had Tedekeſberie (Tewkeſbury.) Hoc manerium tenuit Brictric filius Algar tempore Regis Eduardi. ibid. d. There were other lands held by Thanes under him, particularly Wenecote: of which it is ſaid, Regina dedit hanc terram Rainaldo Capellano. ibid.

In all the accounts of forfeited eſtates, it will be found, that the perſons are generally ſaid to have held them in the time of King Edward. The reaſon is, becauſe Harold was looked upon as an uſurper; and in Doomſday Book he is never ſtiled any thing but Earl: *Heraldus Comes.* Beſides, his reign amounted to little more than nine months: on which account the time of tenure is always referred to Edward.

ALRIC and ALGAR.

Concerning theſe perſons hiſtory ſeems to be quite ſilent. The name of the former occurs in the 253 page of the poem, and the 315 verſe.

As Alric hoiſtes his arme for dedlie blowe.

Though

Though he may not be mentioned by our hiſtorians, yet there is reaſon to think that he is the ſame perſon, whoſe name is to be repeatedly found in Doomſday; and which is expreſſed both Alric and Ailric. He held lands in Worceſterſhire. De ipſo manerio tenet Rogerus de Lacy II hidas ad Ulfrinton, &c. Tempore Regis Edwardi fuerunt in dominio, et *Alricus* eas tenuit. p. 172. d. Ad Speclea habent II Francigenæ IIII carucatas, et VI bordarii cum II carucatis, &c. Hanc terram tenuit Alricus. p. 173. d. He had lands in Somerſetſhire. Bretel tenet de Comite (Moriton) Grindeham. Alric tenuit tempore Regis Eduardi. p. 92. a. By the poet he is ſaid to have been the brother of Algar: who by the ſuperiority of his eſtates ſeems to have been the elder of the two: and he is ſtiled an Earl. Among other lands, which belonged to him, the following are ſpecified, which were ſeized upon by the king.

Rex tenet Clive (in Norhamptonſhire) ibi eſt I hida et duæ virgatæ, et dimidium. Algar Comes tenuit. p. 220. a.

Rex tenet Wiclei. Algarus Comes tenuit. ibid.

In Scadewelle tenet Abbatia I hadam, et dimid virgatæ terræ, &c. Algarus Comes tenuit. Rex dedit Sancto Edmundo pro animâ Reginæ Mathildis. p. 222. b.

He was poſſeſſed of lands in Sumerſetſhire, in the vicinity of Alric and Brictric: ſee page 88. a. b. alſo in Wiltſhire, p. 69. d. But his chief poſſeſſions were at Scandone, Certclie, Weſtantone, Pinchetel, and twelve other places in Staffordſhire: of all which he ſeems to have been Lord Paramount: till they were at the Conqueſt ſeized upon by the King. Rex tenet Rowceſter. Algarus Comes tenuit. p. 246. b. c. The like is mentioned of the whole ſixteen.

There was an Algar, the father of Brithric, concerning whom I have before made mention. But he muſt have been dead before the Battle of Haſtings; as his ſon had ſucceeded to his eſtate and honours. There was alſo a perſon of this name, the ſon of * Leofric, Earl of Mercia. His father was married to Godiva, that celebrated lady, to whom the city of Coventry was ſo much beholden: and they together founded there a noble monaſtery, in which they were afterwards † buried. Algar had a daughter Algitha, whom he gave in marriage to Griffin King of Wales. This led him on ſeveral occaſions to join the Welch King; and to be very diſaffected towards King Edward: on which account he

* Simeon Dunelmenſ. p. 187, 8, 9. Ingulphi Hiſt. p. 888.

† John Bromton, p. 945. 948. Knighton, p. 2334. 60.

was

was twice baniſhed. Harold however obtained his pardon: and at all times ſhewed him great generoſity and friendſhip: and upon the death of Griffin, he married the Lady * Algitha, Algar's daughter; the ſiſter of Edwin and Morcar. From this connection one might naturally ſuppoſe, that this was the Algar, who fought on his ſide in the battle, when the fate of his kingdom was decided. But I think it could not be ſo: for if we may truſt Ingulphus of Croyland, this perſon, the ſon of Leofric, † died anno 1059: ſeven years before that event.

If we may form any judgment from the ſituation of lands, I ſhould think, that the perſon in the poem was the ſon of Algar, Earl of Gloceſter: and conſequently the brother of Brithric, in the vicinity of whoſe eſtates his poſſeſſions for the moſt part lay. Of this we may be aſſured, that the name is not fictitious; nor the character formed by the poet's fancy. Such a perſon did at the time of the Conqueſt exiſt; as is plain both from the lands, which he forfeited, as well as from thoſe, which he retained. And he muſt have been a man of conſequence by his being ſtiled Algarus Comes. It is remarkable, that ſeveral of his eſtates, like thoſe of

* Holinſhed, vol. ii. p. 1. Speed, p. 411. † P. 888.

Brithric,

Brithric, were ſeized upon by the Queen. Mathildis Regina tenet Merlave (in Com. Bochinghamſcire) &c. Hoc manerium tenuit Algarus Comes. D. B. p. 152. c.

Ipſa Regina tenet Hanbledene, &c. Hoc manerium tenuit Algarus Comes. ibid.

From hence I am led to think, that he was a relation of Brithric, or Brictric: and probably his brother: and that he was denominated from his father; that Algar, who was Earl of Gloceſter.

E I L W A R D E.

Harold ſays to two of his principal friends, p. 238. v. 22.

Go, Gyrth, and *Eilwarde*, take bills half a ſcore.

Gyrth is well known, as being the king's brother; who together with Leofine was killed in the action. But Eilwarde, I believe, is a character not mentioned by any Engliſh writer. Yet ſuch a character did really exiſt; and may be authenticated in the ſame manner, as thoſe have been above. The name in Doomſday is expreſſed Elward, Ælward, Ailward, and Alward: and we may learn that the perſon ſo denominated was of eminence, and had large property. He had lands

lands in Devonſhire. Walter tenet de Goſcelmo Newentone: Elüuard tenuit tempore Regis Eduardi. p. 112. c. Alſo in Worceſterſhire. De hoc manerio tenet Ricardus 11 hidas, ad Dicford, &c. Ailwardus tenuit, et ſervitium reddidit, p. 173. b. He likewiſe had eſtates in Gloceſterſhire, as may be ſeen, p. 165. b. 167. b. 170. a. But he had ſtill larger poſſeſſions in Somerſetſhire: moſt of which he was obliged to give up upon the revolution, which happened in the kingdom. Epiſcopus Sariſberienſis tenet Seveberge. Aluuardus tenuit tempore Regis Eduardi. p. 87. d.

Idem Epiſc. tenet Contone.—Aluuard tenuit tempore Regis Eduardi. ibid.

Epiſc. Conſtantien^{s}. tenet Doules. Aluuard tenuit tempore Regis Eduardi. ibid.

Ipſe Willelmus tenet Stoche. Aluuard tenebat temp. Reg. Eduardi. p. 96. b.

It is ſaid of the village of Avra in Devonſhire: Ailward tenebat temp. Reg. Eduuardi. p. 107. b.

Mention is alſo made of lands in Worceſterſhire. Urſo tenet terras, quas tenuerunt Æluuard, et Saulf, &c.—et ibi ſeptem hidæ. p. 174. d. Again, de hac terrâ tenet Urſo quatuor hidas:—Aluuard tenuit: ibid. One Elward held lands in Shropſhire after the conqueſt: Alward tenet de Comite Hundeſlit.

deſlit. p. 259. c. Elward tenet Muletione: Godric tenuit. ibid.

Elward tenet Riſtune. Seuuard tenuit. ibid.

Elward tenet Cireſtoc. Siuuard tenuit. ibid.

He ſeems to be the ſame, who is called Alvert and Ailvert in the account of Dorſetſhire. Ipſe (Rogerus Arundel) tenet Ceberge: Alvert tenuit tempore Regis Eduardi. p. 82. c.

Robertus tenet de Rogero Blendford: Aielvert tenuit temp. Reg. Eduardi. ibid.

We muſt not wonder, if we find the ſame name expreſſed differently: for Saxon names are ſeldom uniformly repreſented. Beſides, Doomſday Book was compiled by more than one perſon: and the ſame name, in conſequence of it, is often yariouſly rendered.

A L F I E.

Concerning this perſon, who is mentioned in the poem, p. 220. we have no account in hiſtory. His name I believe does not any where occur. Yet he is certainly the ſame, who in the book of Doomſday is called Aluui and Alwy: and had many eſtates in the time of King Edward. He is repreſented as a viſcount, and held part of a large manour in Gloceſterſhire, of which Ældred archbiſhop of York had alſo a ſhare.

In

In Bertune habuit rex Eduardus novem hidas, &c. De hoc manerio preſtitit Ældred Archiepiſcopus unam hidam, Brewere. Alterum membrum, nomine Optune, preſtitit Aluui vicecomes. p. 162. d.

He had large poſſeſſions in other counties, eſpecially in Summerſetſhire.

Ipſe Aluredus tenet Bur. Aluui tenebat tempore Regis Eduardi. p. 97. a.

Ricardus tenet de Aluredo Hunteworde: Aluui tenebat tempore Regis Eduardi. p. 97. b.

Rannulfus tenet de Aluredo Strenegeſtone: Aluui tenebat T R E. ibid.

Rannulfus tenet de Aluredo Alfageſtone, et Leding. Aluui tenebat T R E. ibid. There are in the ſame place inſtances of more eſtates, which once belonged to him in this county. Concerning lands belonging to a perſon of this name in Gloceſterſhire, ſee p. 165. a. and 170. a. in Devonſhire, p. 112. c. 115. d.

He ſeems to have ſurvived the battle; for it is ſaid in the account for Oxfordſhire, Alwi Vicecomes tenet de Rege duas hidas et dimidium in Bliceſtone. p. 160. d.

Many of his lands lay near to thoſe of Brictric: and there is reaſon to think that they were brothers. Hence in the deſcription of Wiltſhire it is ſaid, Brictric, et Aluui, frater

frater ejus, tenuerunt Colesfeld tempore Regis Eduardi. valet decem libras. p. 73. c. He held other eſtates in this county: but Brictric many more, to a vaſt amount. See p. 73. c.

ALURED.

This perſon is mentioned in the poem, p. 213. v. 85. but we have no where elſe any hiſtory of him recorded. There are ſeveral of this name to be found in Doomſday Book. One is ſtiled Aluredus Brito, p. 115. d.: who held lands in Devonſhire; and undoubtedly came over from Bretagne with the Conqueror. Another is ſtiled Aluredus, Nepos Wigot, p. 160. a. and held lands in Oxfordſhire: but there is not the leaſt reaſon to think, that he was an inhabitant before the Conqueſt: as he particularly held of the king. The perſon alluded to by the poet, appears to have been of conſequence: and I imagine, that it was the ſame, who in Doomſday is ſtiled Alured of Marlborough: and who held large eſtates in Wiltſhire, both before and after the Conqueſt. See Terra Aluredi de Merleberg. p. 70. b. That he was prior to the coming of the Normans, may be ſhewn from ſome lands, which he held in Worceſterſhire,

Worceſterſhire, p. 175. b. Aluredus de Merleberg tenet Stoche: ibi 15 hidæ. Iſd. ipſe tenuit 12 hidas, et unam virgatam, temp. Regis Eduardi. —— modo totum habebat Aluredus.

It was probably the ſame perſon, who had a fine manour at Weybridge in Surry: which was taken from him. In Wedbrige hactenus tenuit ipſa Abbatia (de Certeſyg, or Chertſey) 11 hidas. Aluredus tenuit tempore Reg. Eduardi. p. 32. c. Alſo in Devonſhire. Huic Monaſterio (de Bolenec) addita eſt Baldrintone. Alured tenebat — temp. Reg. Eduardi. p. 102. b.

It muſt not be thought extraordinary, that perſons, who had oppoſed the Conquerour, ſhould after his eſtabliſhment in the kingdom ſtill hold part of their eſtates. His ſituation was precarious, and he was at times obliged to court the Saxon nobility, and afford them ſome indulgences. No one had oppoſed him more determinately than Edwin Earl of Cheſter, brother of Morcar Earl of Northumberland. This perſon brought off the remains of the Engliſh army at Haſtings: and afterwards at London ſhut the gates againſt the Conquerour, and ſupported the cauſe of Edgar Atheling, the redoubted heir to the kingdom. He likewiſe levied armies in the north: yet William thought proper to win him

him over: and not only permitted him, as we may infer, to hold many of his former eſtates; but went ſo far as to promiſe him his daughter in marriage. But this never took place: for Edwin revolted; and in the year 1071 was killed, as it is * ſaid, by his own people. I imagine, that he is the ſame, who by the poet is ſtiled Egwin. How great his poſſeſſions were may be known from Doomſday Book: where they are mentioned as lying in many different counties; but particularly in † Cheſhire.

That many, who had eſtates before the Conqueſt, held them afterwards, is plain from the terms tenet, and tenuit; which are often applied to the ſame perſon at the ſame time. Thus p. 93. c. Aluuard tenet de Rogero Holecumbe. Ipſe tenuit tempore Regis Eduardi. Alric tenet de Rogero Halſuuei. Ipſe tenuit temp. Reg. Eduardi. ibid. d.

ALFWOLDE.

Concerning this perſon hiſtory is quite ſilent: yet he is mentioned by the poet as a

* Chron. Sax. p. 181. Simeon Dunelm. p. 203. l. 22.

† See Doomſday Book, p. 263. d. 264. a. b. Edwin was dead, when this book was compiled.

leader of great conſequence; and one who with Bythric headed the people from Briſtol. He celebrates his valour in more places than one: particularly p. 253. v. 321.

O Alfwolde, ſaie, how ſhalle I ſynge of thee,
Or telle how manie dyd benethe thee falle?

But though hiſtory may have overlooked the merit of this perſon; yet that ſuch a one exiſted, may be known from the book of Doomſday: and that he was of the eminence ſuppoſed, may in ſome degree be ſhewn from his eſtates. Many of them lay, as might be expected, in Somerſetſhire and Gloceſterſhire: but he had likewiſe other lands in different counties. In Worceſterſhire he is ſaid to have held Nordfeild. Idem Willelmus tenet Nordfeld: Aluuoldus tenuit: ibi ſex hidæ. p. 177. b. Hugo aſinus tenet Tichen apletrev, et Willelmus de eo. Aluuoldus tenuit. p. 177. d. Urſo tenet Hortune et Robertus de eo. Aluuoldus tenuit. p. 177. d. Tortworth in Gloceſterchire belonged to him. Iſd. Turſtinus tenet Tortworth in Bacheſtanes hundred: ibi una hida. Aluuoldus tenuit. p. 169. c. His chief lands ſeem to have lain in Somerſetſhire, as one would naturally expect. Epiſcopus tenet Wenfre — Aluuold tenuit tempore Regis Eduardi. p. 88. c. Idem Willelmus tenet de Epiſcopo Stratone: Aluuold tenuit tempore Regis Eduardi.

p. 88. c. Idem Dudeman tenet de Willelmo Wacet. Aluuold tenebat. p. 96. a.

Goisfrid tenet de Turſtino Malpertone: Aluuold, valebat olim ſex libras, tenebat tempore Regis Eduardi. p. 97. d.

Norman tenet de Turſtino Wandeſtrev: Aluuold tenuit temp. Reg. Eduardi. p. 97. d. He alſo held Duretone, and Ciretune in the ſame county: and other eſtates to the number of fourteen. The poet ſpeaks of him, as if he were ſlain at Haſtings: but from the record, which I here quote, one would be led to think that he ſurvived the battle. For a perſon of this name is ſpoken of as ſtill holding one eſtate, in the Conqueror's time: of which he was poſſeſſed before. Aluuold tenet de Rege Pignocſire (in Gloweceſtreſcire) ipſe tenuit tempore Regis Eduardi. p. 170. c.

This difference between Alfwold and Alwold is of little conſideration: for Saxon names are ſeldom expreſſed uniformly the ſame, as I have ſhewn before. Alfwold was the name of an ancient King of Northumberland: and we find him called both Alfwold, and Alwold, by the ſame writer. See Chron. Sax. p. 62, 63. It was alſo the name of an Abbot of Eveſham, who was afterwards Biſhop of London. He is by * Simeon Dunelmenſis called Alwold: by

* P. 182. l. 12.

Radulf

* Radulf de Diceto Ailward: by † John Bromton Elword: by ‡ Henry Knyghton Elfwold. His name is mentioned by Le Neve with ſtill greater variations, who ſpeaks of his being made Biſhop of London about the year 1035. Faſti, p. 176. We muſt not therefore think it any objection to the evidence afforded, if Alfwold be ſtiled Alwold: Alfie Aluui: and Brithric be found expreſſed Bithric and Brictric. The perſon who is called Algar by Simeon, Bromton, and Knyghton, is ſtiled Alfgar, and Ælfgar by others. See Chron. Sax. p. 165. 169. 171.

GODRICK.

The hiſtory of this perſon is obſcure: but he is repreſented by the poet, p. 220. v. 213. as one of the principal leaders under Harold, and conſequently he muſt have been of eminence in his time. He appears to have held lands in Kent, Suſſex, and other counties. Godefridus tenet de Willelmo Childetune (in Sudſexe:) Godricus tenuit de Rege Eduardo.

* P. 475. l. 9.

† P. 938. l. 63.

‡ P. 2329. l. 67. Robert is expreſſed Rodbert, Rotberd, Rotbeard, Rodbriht, and Rodbyrd, in the ſame volume. See Chron. Sax.

p. 27. b. Idem (Hugo) Comes tenet Fiſcartone (in Wilteſcire) &c. Godricus tenuit tempore Regis Eduardi. p. 69. a.

Iſd. Rainbaldus tenet (in Gloweceſterſcire) in Nortcote 1 hidam. Godricus ten: temp. Regis Eduardi. p. 166. d.

Malgerus tenet de Comite (Moritone) Contune (in Sumerſete.) Godric tenuit temp. Reg. Euuardi. p. 91. d. It is unneceſſary to ſpecify all his poſſeſſions, for they were very large; and very widely diſperſed.

TOSSELYN.

The poet makes mention of the Duke of Normandy drawing his bow, and adds,

> The arrowe dauncynge in the ayre dyd ſynge,
> And hytt the horſe (of) *Toſſelyn* on the knee.
>
> p. 215. v. 104.

I ſcarcely know a name more uncommon than this: which I believe is no where recorded in any regular hiſtory. The only place, where it can be authenticated, is that repoſitory to which I have been ſo often obliged. In ſhort, I think, we may be pretty certain, that the perſon mentioned is the ſame, who in Doomſday is called Tezelin: and who in the time of Edward the Confeſſor, among other eſtates held one under the Biſhop of Saliſbury

at

at Niderbury in Dorſetſhire. De eadem terrâ tenuit de Epiſcopo Tezelinus v hid. et tres virgatas terræ, &c. p. 77. b. A perſon of this name held likewiſe lands in Hampſhire under Hugo de Port, both in Borehunte and Apleſtede. p. 45. c. Alſo under Roger de Lacy in Herefordſhire. Idem Rogerus tenet Letune; et Tezelinus de eo.—ibi III hidæ geld: &c. p. 184. d. Again, Rogerus tenet Hide, & Tezelin'. de eo. ibid. c.

MERWYN.

The poet takes notice of Merwyn, the ſon of Tudor, who fought for Harold at the Battle of Haſtings. p. 232. v. 471. He was, I imagine, the perſon, who held part of thoſe lands in Herefordſhire, which were afterwards by the Conqueror given to one of his followers. Willelmus Filius Normanni tenet Baiſan, &c. Merwin tenuit tempore Regis Eduardi. D. B. p. 181. a. They lay in that part of the county, which the writer tells us, Rex Griffin et Blein vaſtaverunt. ibid. Hereabouts was a place called Matma; of which the ſame writer ſays, Merewin tenuit Teinus Odonis. p. 184. c. He likewiſe had an eſtate at Borehunte in Hampſhire, to which he had been appointed by King Edward. It

was probably given to him for his ſkill in hunting. Ipſe Hugo (de Porth) tenet unam hidam in Borehunte: et Tezelinus de eo: &c. Leffi et Merwen tenuerunt de Rege. p. 55. c. We may perceive from hence, and from what has preceded, that Tezelin, of whom mention was made above, ſucceeded Merwyn in one eſtate: and held others very near to him in Herefordſhire. From theſe circumſtances I am induced to think, that they were both of the ſame country, Wales. The lands in Herefordſhire were probably given to theſe perſons, on account of their attachment to the Saxon Monarchs; and their uniform oppoſition to the Princes of their own country. They were placed upon the borders, as being ſure to withſtand any incurſion; and to maintain the eſtates, which had been given to them.

HEREWARDE.

The poet ſpeaking of Old Sarum, mentions a perſon of conſequence, who was a native of that place.

Herewarde, born of parents brave and wiſe,
Within this ville firſt adrew the ayre:
A bleſſyng to the erthe ſente from the ſkies.
p. 265. v. 555.

He

He was one of the Earls, who attended upon Harold at Haſtings: and has had the good fortune to be taken notice of by ſome of our writers. Though his hiſtory be ſhort, and not very obvious; yet an hiſtory of him there is: and the perſons, who have tranſmitted it, mention his * loyalty and proweſs: and juſtify the great encomiums beſtowed upon him by the poet. There ſeems to be other evidence, that there was ſuch a perſon, and of the times, concerning which we are treating: and this evidence is from the ſame records, to which I have ſo often applied. Herewardus tenuit v hidas ad Eunilade (in Wirecestreſcire,) ibi ſunt duæ carucatæ, et ix villani, &c. p. 173. b.

He ſurvived the battle; and in the year 1071 joined Morcar, and Egelwine Biſhop of Durham, together with Seward Bearn at Ely: which place he † maintained for a long time againſt the Conqueror. At laſt, Seward, Morcar, and the Biſhop, were obliged to ſurrender. Hereward however would not ſubmit: but with his followers, boldly made his way through the ‡ fens, and got off.

* Herewardus, vir ſtrenuiſſimus. Simeon Dunelmenſ. 203. See alſo John Bromton, p. 969.

† Duce Herewardo, de gente Anglorum, viro nobiliſſimo, ac ſtrenuo, &c. Matt. Paris, p. 7. l. 28. Dux belli et magiſter militum. Ingulphi Hiſt. p. 901. l. 56.

‡ See the writers above: and Chron. Sax. p. 181. Radulphus de Diceto. p. 184.

Upon this he forfeited ſeveral of his eſtates, which till this time he had been permitted to hold. One of theſe is mentioned in Doomſday. It is there ſaid—Terram Asford in Bercham Hund. (in Lincolnſhire) dictæ Wapentakæ n̄ habuiſſe Herewardum die, quâ aufugit. p. 376. d. However he ſeems to have ſurvived this flight, though hiſtory be ſilent about it: for he is mentioned as ſtill holding lands to a conſiderable amount in different places: at leaſt there is a perſon of this name. Ipſe Comes (de Mellent) tenet in Wapentune (Warwickſhire) III hidas: et Hereward de eo. Idem ten. tempore Regis Edwardi. p. 240. a.

Ipſe Comes tenet in Merſtone I hidam: et Hereward de eo. Idem Herewardus lib. tenuit temp. R. Edw. p. 240. c.

Ipſe Comes tenet in Bernhangre, &c.—et Hereward de eo. Idem Hereward libere tenuit temp. Regˢ. Eduardi. ibid. This noble perſon was greatly celebrated after his death, and many ſongs were compoſed to his memory, which in the time of * Ingulphus of Croyland were in high repute; but have been long ſince loſt. This writer gives a more ample account of Hereward and his atchievements, than any other hiſtorian.

* P. 829. Ingulphus lived in the reign of Henry the Firſt.

BERTRAM.

BERTRAM.

The poet mentions the ſon of this perſon, and ſtiles him, *the man of glorious wound*, p. 243 v. 117. Our hiſtorians are quite ſilent about Bertram; nor are there any means, by which we can arrive at the name of the ſon. We have however fortunately ſufficient evidence to certify, that ſuch a perſon as Bertram exiſted; and that he was a friend of Harold's, and Warden of the Cinque Ports in his reign. This may be known from the liſt of thoſe Wardens or Barons, preſerved by Lambarde and Philpot: and which is likewiſe to be found in Somner's treatiſe upon the Roman Ports in Kent, p. 118. He is there ſtiled Bertram Aſhburnham; i. e. Bertram of Aſhburnham, and ſtands third in the liſt, being the immediate ſucceſſor to Harold, by whom he was appointed. Why his ſon is ſtiled *the man of glorious wound*, I cannot preſume to ſay. It may poſſibly be, becauſe he was by nation a Norman, one of thoſe, who had been favoured by Edward, and who adhered to Harold; and conſequently was a friend to the Saxon cauſe. It was certainly not a Saxon name: and there was a perſon of the contrary party ſo called, who came

came over with the * Conqueror. He is mentioned D. B. p. 37. c. among the principal perſons, who had lands given to them in Hampſhire: where he ſucceeded to Toſti, the brother of Harold. Willelmus Bertram tenet de Rege Polemetune. Toſti tenuit temp. R. Eduardi. p. 47. b. Bertram of Aſhburnham may have been of the ſame family, though engaged on the contrary ſide. Be this as it may; that ſuch a perſon exiſted, and was a friend of Harold's, is plain paſt all controverſy. And he undoubtedly was a perſon of great conſequence, and of approved fidelity. For the King muſt have had the higheſt opinion of that man; to whom he entruſted Dover and the Cinque Ports.

NORMANNE.

This perſon was not a Saxon, but of the oppoſite party at the Battle of Haſtings. I have however the ſame reaſons for introducing his name, as I had for thoſe above. The poet ſpeaking of Leofwyne, mentions his hurling a javelin with great force, and adds,

> Itte whyzz'd a gaſtlie dynne in Normanne's ear,
> Then thundryng dyd upon hys greave alyghte.
>
> p. 251. v. 285.

* See Battle Roll. Stow. p. 105.

The

The name may create ſuſpicion; as it does not occur in any one of the liſts. And it may beſides ſeem ſtrange, when the army conſiſted in general of Normans, that a perſon ſhould be diſtinguiſhed by ſuch an indeterminate appellation. Yet there is authority for this circumſtance: and we accordingly find in the Ely tablet (a ſpecimen of which we have in Mr. Bentham's very curious account of that * Cathedral) a perſon ſo denominated. It appears, that William the Conqueror being irritated at the behaviour of the Monks of Ely, had upon their ſurrender appointed forty of his officers to be quartered upon them. Theſe were received in a moſt hoſpitable manner: and they made on their ſide ſuitable returns: ſo that when they left the monaſtery, there was a picture deſigned, in order to commemorate the harmony and friendſhip, which had ſubſiſted between the two parties. A very ancient copy of this picture ſtill remains: and every officer is painted with the Monk, who particularly entertained him: and under each copartment their names are ſpecified. One of theſe perſons is called Robertus Normannus. He was probably ſo named from the place of his reſidence, Normanville. There is in the ſame

* Hiſt. and Antiq. of the church of Ely, p. 106.

tablet

tablet another perſon, ſtiled Lucey Normannus; and poſſibly a relation of the former. They were both of great rank; the one a Mareſchal, and the other an Admiral.

In Doomſday Book mention is made of ſome eſtates belonging to Robert, which lay in Wiltſhire. Terra Roberti Mareſcal; part of which Eddid, King Edward's Queen, the daughter of Earl Goodwin, poſſeſſed before, p. 73. b. Alſo among the great perſonages, who held lands in Gloceſterſhire, we find a Fitznorman. He was undoubtedly a ſon of one of thoſe before mentioned. See p. 162 and 167. c. But there was a perſon of the very name of Norman, who held lands in Somerſetſhire. Norman tenet de Turſtino Wandeſtrev. p. 97. d. Norman tenet de Chaivert. ibid. Norman tenet de Roberto Liteltone. Norman tenet de R. Bertone. p. 94. b. The name occurs in the accounts of other counties, particularly of Lincolnſhire; where a perſon ſtiled Normannus Craſſus held Carletune and Canvic. See Terra Normanni Craſſi, p. 362. a. Alſo another ſtiled Normannus de Adreci, who had in the ſame county far larger poſſeſſions. p. 361. c. d. He is mentioned among the chief of the nobility, who held lands in that county, p. 337. a.

The name of King Edward's Queen above mentioned

mentioned is variouſly repreſented. By ſome it is rendered Edith and Editha: by Ingulph of Croyland, Egith: by William of Malmſbury, Edgith: by the compiler of Doomſday Book, Eddid: which is properly Eddiƀ. She ſurvived her huſband, and dying in 1074, was buried at Weſtminſter. Writers deſcribe her as a woman of a great character, though of a bad father: hence it is ſaid by Ingulphus, p. 905,

Sicut Spina Roſam, genuit Godwinus Egitham.

From what has been mentioned above, we have a farther proof of the great latitude taken in the expreſſing of Saxon names.

M A N N.

A perſon of this name is mentioned by the poet, p. 218. v. 172: which name for a Norman may ſeem extraordinary: and the more ſo, as it does not occur either in the Battle, or Norman * liſts. Yet that ſuch a perſon exiſted at the time ſpecified, may be proved from a ſon, ſtiled Fitz Manne, who had eſtates conferred upon him by the Conqueror. One of theſe lay in Suſſex. Willelmus Filius

* It is only to be ſeen in the liſt of Thomas Scriven, preſerved by Stow.

Manne tenet de Willelmo Wapingetorne. Carle tenuit de Rege Edwardo. D. B. p. 28. b. Alſo p. 48. c. Terra Willelmi Filij Manne. Willelmus Filius Manne tenet in Niwetone (Hanteſcire) unam hidam. Aluric tenuit de Rege, &c. He is alſo mentioned, p. 154. among the chief barons, who had eſtates in Oxfordſhire: alſo p. 160. b. ſo that from the ſon we may aſcertain the father; and ſhew, that he was a perſon of conſequence.

TATWINE.

It is not only difficult to obtain any knowledge of the perſons, introduced by the poet; but even to get authorities for their names: many of them are ſo very uncommon. Such is that above, which occurs in the poem, p. 273. v. 719. We find in the Saxon Chronicle one perſon named Tatwine: and I believe, we may ſearch a long time, before we find an inſtance in any other writer. This was an ancient archbiſhop of Canterbury, in the year 731.

I have received great advantages from the Doomſday Book, which is a moſt curious, and invaluable record. The preciſe time when the compilation was made, may not be eaſy to aſcertain. Indeed it muſt have taken

up

up ſome years in compleating. Thus much we know, that it was not finiſhed till after the death of Queen Mathildis, the Conqueror's wife. This is plain from ſeveral paſſages, where it is ſaid, Mathildis Regina tenuit. But more particularly from p. 222. b. where mention is made of the manour of Scadewelle; concerning which it is ſaid, Rex dedit Sancto Edmundo pro animâ Mathildis Reginæ. The Queen died anno 1083.

CONTINUATION.

As the perſons of whom I have been treating are ſo little known; and the very names have been long buried in obſcurity; by what means could a youth of ſixteen have been in the leaſt acquainted with them? Surely not from hiſtory. We cannot ſuppoſe, that any body ſo young, and ſo ſituated, could have acceſs to the authors neceſſary for this purpoſe. Beſides, we have ſeen, that even hiſtory will not afford the intelligence required. In reſpect to the Norman names, it is ſaid, that he might have got them from Battle roll. But I have ſhewn, that this roll does not ſuffice for one half of them. And if it did; yet from what quarter did he obtain thoſe of the Saxons: many of which, as I have

have before ſaid, are not to be found in any Engliſh hiſtorian? As to the reſource, to which I have applied, it could not have been obvious, or even known, to him. The names then have been invented, and introduced by him at hazard. If this were the caſe, he muſt have been particularly fortunate in having ſo many latent evidences for that which was mere whim and fancy.

But it is not only upon theſe names and their evidences, that I found my opinion; but upon the many curious and remote alluſions, which continually occur. Some of theſe after very deep inquiry may be traced out; others are too obſcure, and too far removed from us to be at all explained. Now theſe dark hints, and oblique references are to me another proof of the antiquity of theſe poems. They muſt have been introduced by a perſon, who was well acquainted with the facts referred to; and who addreſſed himſelf to people equally intelligent: even by him, who declares himſelf to have been the author, by ſaying with great impartiality

* I, thô a Saxon, yet the truthe will telle.

For let a writer be ever ſo artfully diſpoſed, and ſo diligent in counterfeiting; yet you will rarely ſee him point to a non-entity;

* Battle of Haſtings, p. 224. v. 312.

and

and make alluſions, where there is no object of reference. An author is never voluntarily deficient. It is not his buſineſs to darken, but elucidate:

Non fumum ex fulgore, ſed ex fumo dare lucem.

I have mentioned ſeveral little hiſtories, to which there is a retroſpect in theſe poems; particularly thoſe of Matraval, and Powis-land; of Bithric and Howel ap Jevah. Concerning theſe and many others we have been ſo fortunate, as to obtain ſome intelligence. But there are other obſcure references, that are incidentally brought before us, concerning which no account can be given. Inſtances to this purpoſe we have in the *overthrow of Standrip Tower*, *Tinyans necromancy*: the *goats of Conyan*; and the *Souls* of the *fairy-ſtricken* people, which are ſaid to wander to the *dike of Offa*. Many more of the ſame nature may be found in theſe poems. Theſe alluſions were not originally dark: the circumſtances were no ſecret at the time of writing. But things recent neceſſarily grow obſolete by time: and facts well known will become obſcure.

Theſe indirect and imperfect notices are therefore very frequent in ancient writings. They break in upon us continually; and are partial lights, that direct to unknown objects:

to objects far removed, which we cannot at preſent diſtinguiſh. But in recent compoſitions they occur very rarely: for, as I before ſaid, it is the buſineſs of an author, not to darken, but illuminate: and no body is deſignedly unintelligible. Whoever takes an ancient piece of hiſtory for his ſubject, will dwell upon the well-known facts; and expend his labour upon the leading circumſtances of that hiſtory. He will never amuſe his reader with dark, and unſatisfactory alluſions: nor raiſe his curioſity merely to diſappoint it. As I have ſome verſes by me, upon the very ſame ſubject as the poem, concerning which we have been treating; I will lay them before the reader: and from thence he may ſee, that let a perſon be ever ſo aſſiduous, yet he will never attain to that maſs of occult intelligence, which is to be obſerved in a writing of the times: nor abound with thoſe incidental references, which diſtinguiſh a primitive work. As it may too much interrupt the preſent courſe of inquiry to preſent them immediately, I will not introduce them in this place; but conſign them to the rear, that they may be conſidered, or paſſed by, as may ſeem beſt to the reader.

I cannot quit this ſubject without mentioning a paſſage in the poet, which may perhaps

further illuſtrate, what I have been ſaying. In the beginning of the Battle of Haſtings, there is a noble apoſtrophe made to the ſea: concerning whoſe influence the poet ſpeaks with regret: as it was not exerted to the deſtruction of the Normans.

O ſea, our teeming donore, han thy floud
Han anie fructuous entendement,
Thou wouldſt have roſe and ſank wyth tydes of bloude,
Before Duke William's Knyghts han hither went:
Whoſe cowart arrows menie erles (have) fleyne,
And brued the feeld wyth bloude as ſeaſon rayne.

p. 210.

I mention this, becauſe I think, that we may perceive here a tacit reference to an event; which at firſt ſight is not obvious. The author in his addreſs to the ſea ſeems to ſay, had thy flood been calculated for any good, it would have ariſen, before the Norman navy had reached our ſhores: and preſerved us from that fatal invaſion. When therefore he ſays, had thy flood had any good intention, it is natural to aſk, *when*: and *upon what occaſion*. For by the tenour of the words he ſeems to refer to a time; and allude to ſome particular criſis. And when he adds, after this intimation, that it would then have riſen before the landing of the Normans; he ſeems to indicate, that it had riſen, but at a leſs favourable ſeaſon. It appears, therefore, to me, that there is in this paſſage to be obſerved one of thoſe

occult alluſions, of which I made mention before. There is certainly a retroſpect to an event, well known in the age of the writer: and that event was an overflowing of the ſea. Now it is remarkable, that at the time, when I ſuppoſe the firſt ſketch of this poem to have been produced, there were great inundations upon the ſouthern coaſts of England, which are taken notice of by ſeveral of our hiſtorians. They happened in the latter part of the reign of William Rufus, and in the early part of that of his ſucceſſor. That in the time of Rufus is mentioned, as very extraordinary in its effects; and conſequently very alarming. The author of the Saxon * Chronicle ſpeaks of its being attended with the greateſt damages ever known. The like is recorded by Simeon of Durham. † Mare littus egreditur; et villas et homines quam plures, &c. demerſit. Florence of ‡ Worceſter writes to the ſame purpoſe. Great part of Zealand is ſaid at this time to have ſuffered: and the § Goodwin ſands are ſuppoſed to have been formed by this inundation, which before did not appear.

Mr. Tyrwhitt thinks, that, inſtead of *O Sea, our teeming Donore*, the true reading

* Anno 1099. p. 207.

† P. 224. l. 58.

‡ Ad annum 1099. p. 649. Fabian, v. i. p. 316.

§ Camden, p. 755. Rapin, p. 189.

was,

was, *O, ſea-o'er-teeming Dover.* This is a very ingenious alteration, and I think highly probable. But inſtead of forming a decompound, I ſhould rather ſeparate the ſecond term, and read, *O Sea, o'er-teeming Dover:* for the addreſs muſt be to the *ſea*, and not to the *place:* as the poet in the third verſe ſpeaks of its *riſing*. Now to *teem* ſignifies to *abound* and to be *prolifick:* alſo to *pour* and *fill*. Hence we find in Ainſworth, teemful, *brimful*. The ſame alſo occurs in Ray's North-Country words: To teem, to *pour out*, or *lade*. Alſo teemful, *brimful:* having as much as can be *teemed in*; i. e. poured in. p. 60, 61. Accordingly, *o'er-teeming* muſt ſignify *overflowing, pouring over*. When therefore the poet addreſſes himſelf to this *o'er-teeming ſea*, he ſeems to allude to that general * inundation, by which Dover, and many other places upon the ſouthern coaſt of this iſland, were overwhelmed. Stow mentions that this flood did great miſchief to many towns and villages upon the ſides of the Thames: and it is ſaid to have prevailed in the North, as high up as Scotland. But its chief fury ſeems to have been in the narrow ſeas of the channel; and upon thoſe very coaſts upon

* See John Bromton, p. 1003. l. 21. alſo Knyghton, Higden and Polydore Vergil. Camden, p. 1505. See particularly Somner's Roman Ports, p. 26, 27.

which a few years before the Normans had landed. It was natural for a writer of the times to allude to an event ſo recent; and to make a reference ſo obvious. And I do not know any perſon, to whom this addreſs can with propriety be aſcribed, but to Turgot. He was probably writing at the very time of this calamity: and nothing could be more natural than for him at ſuch a ſeaſon to make this apoſtrophe: which is very much illuſtrated by the hiſtory of thoſe times.

O Sea, o'er-teeming Dover, had thy flood had any good purpoſe to our country, it would have riſen before Duke William with his nobles had arrived upon our coaſts: and have overwhelmed his army. This in great meaſure authenticates, what is ſaid by * Rowley, that this poem was a verſion from a Saxon manuſcript: and it juſtifies his invocation of Turgot, to whom he was beholden for it. See backward p. 227.

CONSIDERATIONS

upon ſome words and expreſſions.

I ſhall now mention ſome particular terms, concerning which I have entertained ſuſpi-

* Memoires of Sir William Canynge, p. 127. in the Miſcell. by T. Chatterton.

cions:

cions: and there are perſons of ſuperior knowledge in antiquity, who have had the like ſcruples. It has been ſaid, and with great appearance of truth, that there are words introduced contrary to analogy; and in oppoſition to the idiom of the language, which is thought then to have prevailed. Theſe exceptions appeared of weight; and I could not help being affected by them; till I found upon a cloſer inquiry, that theſe ſeeming anomalies might be fairly accounted for; and that there were authorities to this purpoſe. It is obſerved, among other words objected to, that the plural *eyne* is often put for the ſingular *eye*.

In everych *eyne* aredynge nete of wyere. p. 11. v. 79.
In everie *eyne* I kenne the lowe of myghte.
p. 123. v. 681.

In the firſt place theſe may have been the miſtakes of the tranſcriber, who was certainly not ſufficiently converſant in ancient language. The genuineneſs of the poems cannot on this account be juſtly impeached. How many errors are to be found in firſt printed editions of the beſt Latin authors? Theſe have been ſince corrected; and nobody ever thought from hence of calling in queſtion the originality of thoſe writings. If the plural *eyne* be wrong, let it be at once altered to *eye*: but do not ſuffer it to affect either the author, or the poems.

In everych eye aredynge nete of wyere.
In everie eye I kenne, &c.

After all, ſome allowance ſhould be made for poetical liberties: for we muſt not eſteem every thing a fault againſt ſyntax, which does not preciſely accord now with the general mode either of ſpeaking or writing. The author of the Gloſſary to Gawin Douglas tells us, that liberties of this ſort were not uncommon in the verſion, of which he was treating: and we may reaſonably infer, that the ſame was uſual in other writings. * *The plural of nouns is frequently uſed for the ſingular, as in the Latin and Greek: and ſometimes, though very rarely, vice versâ.* We muſt not therefore think it very ſtrange, if the like ſhould be found in a writer not many years antecedent. In conformity to this, I think, that we may perceive an inſtance of eyen (expreſſed ene) being uſed as a ſingular in the author above mentioned. It is in a paſſage, where mention is made of the morning ſtar.

Qualis ubi oceani perfuſus Lucifer undâ.
* * * * * * *
Extulit os ſacrum cœlo.

Æneid. l. viii. v. 589.

— hye in the hevyn lifting his vyſage ſchene,
To chaſe away the merkneſs with his *ene*. p. 264.
i. e. with his *look*, or *eye*.

* Under General Rules, oppoſite p. 486.

There

There is another paſſage, where it is uſed as a ſingular paſt all diſpute. The poet is ſpeaking of Auguſtus Cæſar ſtanding up in his ſhip at the battle of Actium.

—— geminas cui tempora flammas
Læta vomunt. L. viii. v. 680.

Heich in the fore ſtam ſtand he micht be ſene,
For his blyith browis brent; and athir *ene*
The fire twinkling, and his faderis ſtar
Shew from his helmes top, ſchynand on fer.
G. D. p. 268. l. 11.

By *athir ene* is meant either, or each, eye. The following line occurs in a very ancient poem.

Nis no ȝonge an erþe, ne no eyen—

i. e. no tongue, nor no eye. Vita Sanctæ Margaretæ. Hickes Theſaurus. vol. i. p. 228.

By ſome writers eye and eyn ſeem to be uſed indifferently either in the ſingular or plural. Of this we may in ſome degree be aſſured from Rob. of Glouceſter.

Alfred hii ladde to Ely and pulte out bothe hys eye:
And hulde hym there in priſon vorte ſely mon gan deye.
p. 328. l. 1.

The ſame allowance ſhould be made in reſpect to the word *han* or *hane*, which occurs ſometimes in the ſingular, contrary to the common uſage of the times.

Hanne

Hanne alle the fuirie of mysfortunes wille
Fallen on mie benned heade. p. 166. v. 1184.
O Hengiſt, han thy cauſe bin good and true!
p. 225. v. 319.
But better han it bin to lette alone. p. 226. v. 337.

This may ſometimes have been the fault of the tranſcriber, who has ſubſtituted a plural for a ſingular. Or it may have taken its riſe from a provincial way of ſpeaking, which the author, like other writers in their ſeveral departments, followed. We muſt not uniformly judge from the language of the capital concerning the mode of ſpeaking in provinces: for there were certainly different dialects. In many of the inſtances, where *hane* and *han* occur, the terms may be altered to *hath* or *had*, without any impeachment of the ſenſe, or detriment to the verſe. And after all, there is authority for the uſage of this word in the ſingular, by which the reading in Rowley may be countenanced. In an ancient book, called the Pylgrimage of the Soul, which I have before mentioned; there occurs an example to this purpoſe.

He, that *hane* ſuffered hard and grevous peyne.
Fol. 13. Stanza 4.
I hane ben with the, whan thou knewe it nought.
Fol. 18.
I hane the ſayd, how deth the hath aſſet. p. 21. l. 5.

The like may be found in the viſion of Pierce Plowman.

—— *Hane*

—— *Hane* this in hert,
That though he ſuffered all this, God ſuffered for us more. p. 81. l. 24.
i. e. obſerve and take notice.

We meet with the term introduced after the ſame manner in Occleve. It is in his prologue, where he is ſpeaking of Chaucer.

—— * the honour of Engliſh tongue is dede,
Of which I wont was *han* counſel and rede.

If it ſhould be ſaid, that the inſtances here produced, are miſtakes, which have ariſen either from the imperfections of the manuſcripts, or the ignorance of the perſon who copied them, I will not diſpute the point; though I think, that it could not always have been the caſe. However, let us make the ſame allowance for the poems in queſtion, which have certainly in ſome degree ſuffered both from the manuſcripts being defective, and from the incapacity of the perſon, who copied them. But as I ſaid before, there is certainly authority for the uſage of theſe terms, as we find them introduced in Rowley. In Robert of Glouceſter, as well as in Robert Brunne, the terms han and hane occur for had and have: and Hearne in his Gloſſary to the latter, mentions their being elſewhere to be found. He adds that *hane* and *have* are uſed *promiſcuouſly*.

* See Hiſt. of Eng. Poetry, by the Rev. Mr. Wharton, vol. ii. p. 43.

I muſt

I muſt confeſs, that I had ſome doubts about the propriety of another word—*thiſſen:* and a perſon of uncommon learning and experience has entertained the ſame.

Lette thyſſen menne—— Eclog. 2d. p. 11.

But I found it to be the ſame as the word *theſne*, which occurs in Robert of Glouceſter: the ſame alſo as the term þyſſne, þyſſum, and þyſſon of the Saxons. Æfter þyſſum, poſt hæc. Æfter þyſſon, after theſe things. Bede, p. 504. and Gen. ch. xlv. 15. See Lye and Manning. þyſne laff—this bread. þyſne ſtan, this ſtone. Of þyſſon hlafe. of this bread. Saxon verſion of the Goſpels.

Without doubt all ſtrange terms, and uncouth expreſſions muſt neceſſarily create ſcruples and ſuſpicions, however we may be prejudiced in favour of the poems. But when upon inquiry we find either examples or analogy for ſuch phraſes and words, they then operate in a contrary manner; and confirm us in our original opinion.

There is a paſſage in the firſt battle of Haſtings, of which I have before taken notice. In this the poet ſpeaks of the ſea having *any fructuous entendement,* p. 210. v. 6. I ſcarcely know an expreſſion, which at firſt ſight is more likely to be ſuſpected. Yet there is authority in a Mſſ. poem of Occleve; to which we may well ſuppoſe that Chatter-

ton

ton had never acceſs. It is the ſame, to which I referred before: in which he pays a noble compliment to the memory of Chaucer.

* But weleawaye, ſo is myne heartè wo,
That the honour of Engliſh tonge is dede:
Of which I wont was han counſel and rede.
O Mayſter dere, and fadir reverent,
Mirrour of *fructuous entendement*.
O univerſal fadir in ſcience.

Occleve was of the ſame age as Rowley; and not many years before him. The former of the words occurs compounded in Gawin Douglas.

† Zour fruite is bot unfructuous fantaſye.

Knowlachyng is a word of the ſame nature: equally liable to raiſe ſcruples.

And *knowlachyng* he ſoon muſt quyt this lyfe.
p. 223. v. 283.

Yet there is as good authority for this word, as there was for that above. In the ſtorie of William and the Werwolf, mention is made of two perſons, whoſe conſciences ſtruck them:

‡ And faire before William thei felle on knees both,
And *knowlacheden* al the cas, howe thei caſt hadde.

* See Mr. Wharton's Hiſt. of Eng. Poetry, vol. ii. p. 43.

† Prologue, p. 93. l. 25.

‡ Mſſ. King's Col. Fol. 72.

In

In Lydgate it occurs more preciſely in the ſenſe above.

* When King Arthur had *knowlechynge*
Of his foul treaſon.

We read alſo in Wiclif's verſion—The fruyt of lippis knowlechynge to his name. Hebrews, c. xiii.

MINSTER.

An objection has been brought againſt theſe poems, becauſe a church in Briſtol, ſuppoſed to be that of the Auguſtine Monaſtery, is ſtiled a Minſter.

Or fierye round the Mynſter glare.
Song to Ælla, p. 25.

It is thought, that this term is only applicable to † cathedrals: of which number this church of Briſtol was not in the time of Rowley. But I ſhould think, that this objection is not well founded, on account of ſeveral places terminating in Minſter, which were not ſo diſtinguiſhed from being honoured with a cathedral: but from the

* Fol. 16. l. 8.

† *Minſter is a word almoſt appropriated to Cathedrals.* See the Hiſt. of Engliſh Poetry by the Rev. Mr. Wharton. vol. ii. p. 156. notes.

church

church of a monaſtery, for which they were noted. Such are Axminſter, Warminſter, Leominſter, Stourminſter; and Minſter, ſimply ſo called, in the iſle of Thanet. The term originally was uſed for a monaſtery: and when it was applied to a church, it denoted the church of ſuch a monaſtery. The church of Ely, I make no doubt, was called the Minſter Church long before it was a Cathedral: and when there remained nothing of the monaſtery but the church, the church retained the name of Minſter. According to ſome writers, every parochial church was ſo called. In the laws of King Edgar, no prieſt is to interfere with another prieſt in that other prieſt's church, or pariſh; nor in any wiſe leſſen his authority.—Ne æt ðo æni þaþa þinga þe him to gebyrige, ne on hiſ Mynſtep, ne on hiſ ſcyrſcire. N° 9. This is interpreted, *that he ſhall not abridge him in his church or his pariſh.* It is ſaid of William Rufus, that for the good of his father's ſoul he made preſents to every church in England: to ælcen mynſtre: unicuique Eccleſiæ. Chron. Sax. p. 192. King Stephen was buried in the church of Feverſham in Kent; which is ſtiled a Minſter. It is mentioned of King Canute, that he built a church at Aſſendune for the ſouls of thoſe, who had been ſlain in the battle near that place:

place: which church he entruſted to a prieſt named Stigand. This is ſtiled a Minſter, and ſpecified farther, an mynſtep of ſtane ⁊ lime: *a minſter of ſtone and lime*. Chron. Sax. p. 150. The tranſlator of Froiſſart ſpeaks of a Minſter at Paris, which ſeems to have been a common pariſh church. He had been mentioning ſome pageantry exhibited in that city, in honour of the royal family, and ſays,—*Thanafter under the Mynſter of the Trinyte in the ſtrete there was a ſtage*, vol. ii. fol. 173. I think from what has been ſaid, that this term was not appropriated ſolely to cathedrals, nor even to monaſteries. We may add to the foregoing proofs, what we find in the works of the beſt Etymologiſts. Mynſtep, monaſterium, cænobium: — item Eccleſia. Mynſtep-cluſa, Eccleſiæ clauſura. Mynſtpe-ȝlænſunȝ,—Eccleſiæ reconciliatio. Lye and Manning's Sax. Dict. Mynſter, *Church, Monaſtery*. Gloſſ. to Rob. of Glouceſter. Sed et univerſim Eccleſiæ omnes monaſteria dictæ. Du Cange, vol. iv. p. 896. Spelman ſays the ſame. Monaſterium pro Eccleſiâ. I have mentioned, that ſimilar objections have been made on account of Briſtol being in the poem ſtiled a *City*, before it had a cathedral, and became a Biſhop's See. But theſe objections, as I have attempted to ſhew, are alike ill-founded, as may be farther proved from

from the hiſtory of Glouceſter. This place is mentioned as a city long before it was made a ſeat of epiſcopacy: and this may be ſhewn from Doomſday Book. Tempore Regis Eduuardi reddebat *Civitas* de Glowceſtre xxxvi libras numeratas, et xii ſextaria mellis ad menſuram ejuſdem Burgi, &c.

Modo reddit ipſa Civitas Regi lx libras de xx in ora, &c. p. 163.

The ACCOUNTE of W. CANYNGE's FEAST.

The word *account* has been thought liable to exception, as not having been uſed in that ſenſe ſo early. It is ſuppoſed to have related merely to numbers and calculation: and it is therefore concluded, that the poems could not be ſo ancient, as has been imagined. But I ſuſpect that this inference is not juſt; nor the poſition true: for ancient poems have not always titles: and when they have, they are liable to be altered. Hence the poem may be ancient, though the ſuperſcription ſhould appear to have been by a later hand. And after all, I have before quoted a verſe from G. Douglas, where the word is found in a different acceptation; and has no relation to numbers.

* Thy fervent wordis compt I not ane ſtro.
i. e. eſteem not.

If to compt, or count, be to *eſteem*, then an account muſt be an *eſtimate*.

It is true, Gawin Douglas did not make his verſion of the Æneis till the ſixteenth century, about the year 1513: but his language muſt be eſteemed ſomewhat older; for he was born 1471. So that he commenced nearly, where Rowley ended.

EWBRYCE, or EWBRICE.

Another word, which may have given riſe to ſcruples, is Ewbrice. The Lady Birtha ſays to the Danes in the Tragedy of Ælla,

> Mie thanks I ever onne you wylle beſtowe,
> From *Ewbryce* you mee pyghte, the worſte of mortal woe. p. 157. v. 1085.

The term is explained in the note adultery: but more truly in this place ſignifies violence, rape, and diſhonour. The requeſt made by the lady is not to be kept from committing adultery, but to be ſaved from outrage and raviſhment. It is however certain, that it has alſo the former ſenſe: and it may poſſibly ſeem very ſtrange, that ſuch a word ſhould

* P. 445. l. 36.

be

be found in theſe poems. But nothing was more common than for Saxon writers to affectedly introduce Greek words: and the cuſtom continued to the time, when I ſuppoſe, that this play was compoſed. For I am perſuaded, that the original was the work of Turgott: though it has ſince been reviſed, and put into a new dreſs by Rowley: and that, which may appear matter of ſuſpicion, will be found a proof of its authenticity. William of Malmſbury tries to excuſe the learned * Aldhelm; who had diſguſted many perſons by his unneceſſary introduction of foreign terms in his writings. He is ſpeaking of his treatiſes de Virginitate —† quibus meo judicio nihil dulcius; nihil ſplendidius: quamvis, ut eſt noſtri ſæculi deſidia, quibuſdam nauſeam pariant; non attendentibus, quia juxta mores gentium varientur modi dictaminum. The learned author of the Anglia Sacra ſpeaks of this affectation as prevailing greatly in the times before the conqueſt: and ſays, that Aldhelm was more moderate than others. ‡ Id in

* He was Abbot of Malmſbury; and eſteemed in his time a perſon of great learning, and of equal piety. He was at laſt Biſhop of Shirburn.

† Will. of Malmſbury, de Geſtis Regum Ang. l. i. p. 13.

‡ Wharton's Ang. Sacra. vol. ii. p. 7.

omnibus antiquis chartis eſt animadvertendum, quantum in quibuſdam verbis abſtruſis, ex græco petitis, delectentur. Moderatius tamen ſe agit Aldhelmus. This turn of mind may be in ſome degree perceived even in the grants of princes, of which there are many examples. We have one inſtance in a Latin writ of King Edgar; wherein he does not ſtile himſelf Rex; but—* Ego Edgar Baſileus Anglorum. The like may be ſeen in the grants of other Saxon Kings. Some traces of this taſte may be found long afterwards. Accordingly Gower ſays of an imaginary perſonage,

> She paſſeth, as it were a *ſkie*,
> All clean out of the Ladies ſight:

i. e. like a ſhadow: from the Greek † σκια.

The term Ewbryce from being thus frequently introduced, became in a manner a Saxon word: and we accordingly find in the Dictionaries of that language Ɛpbryce, *adulterium*. Alſo in Kerſey, Ewbrice, *ſpouſe-breach, adultery*. But how came Chatterton by ſuch obſolete and uncommon words? It may be ſaid from theſe very Dictionaries. But

* Hemingi Chartæ Eccleſ. Wigorn. by Hearne, p. 521.

† See Hiſt. of Eng. Poetry, by Rev. Mr. Wharton, vol. ii. p. 29.

can it be imagined, that by poaching and purloining in this abject manner, he compoſed theſe excellent poems? We may as well ſuppoſe, that a pedlar built York cathedral by ſtealing a tile, or a ſtone, in every pariſh that he paſſed through.

A COMPARISON

OF

ROWLEY's POEMS with Compoſitions of other Writers.

THUS have I endeavoured from the miſtakes of the perſon, through whoſe hands we have received theſe poems, to ſhew, that he could not have been the author: and likewiſe from the internal evidence to prove, that they are of the antiquity ſuppoſed. Others have proceeded upon the ſame evidence, but in a different manner, in order to aſcertain the direct contrary. They have taken notice of many words, which they think are no where elſe to be found: and of others, which, though they may be found, yet occur in a different acceptation. They likewiſe object to the rythm of Rowley, and to the harmony of his numbers, which they think too good and accurate for ſo early a date. I muſt confeſs, that I have had my ſcruples upon this head: and my ſuſpicions

were increaſed by the authority of thoſe perſons, among whom theſe doubts prevailed. For they were gentlemen of uncommon learning, to whoſe opinion I could not help paying a very great regard. But when upon a proper inquiry I perceived, that many of theſe terms, which ſeemed to be ſingle and unſupported, were elſewhere to be found; that their purport could be fairly aſcertained, and the ſuppoſed anomalies accounted for; I was obliged to ſuppreſs my ſcruples, and withdraw my former objections. And as to the arguments founded on the rythm and harmony of the verſes, they appeared to me to be very precarious, and by no means to deſerve the attention, which people were pleaſed to pay to them. In every age there will be a difference among writers; and whatever number of poets there may be found, it is a great chance, but there will be ſome one perſon more eminent han the reſt. And though from the texture of a poem, and the mode of compoſition, and more eſpecially from the language, a notion concerning its age may be formed; yet nothing certain can be determined: and we are liable to be greatly deceived. And this will particularly happen, when we apply to words, and ſentences: and even when we form our opinion from detached portions of a poem. Alſo when we

compare

compare any compoſition with another of the ſame or a prior age, we are ſtill likely to be miſtaken: for the difference ſubſiſting is not always a difference reſulting from time, but often from ſituation, taſte, and judgment.

Many have maintained, that if theſe poems were of the date ſuppoſed, and if poetry had been ſo much improved, it would never have fallen off afterwards: as there would have been a ſtandard for future compoſition. The lines in Rowley for the moſt part terminate with the true accent: and ſeldom cloſe with words of three or four ſyllables, as is obſervable in other poets of that century. This excellence, ſay they, being once eſtabliſhed, would have been copied by ſubſequent writers. But herein, I think, there is much uncertainty: and whoever proceeds upon theſe principles, may form a very wrong judgment: for this rule of determination is certainly very precarious. To evidence, what is here mentioned, I will lay ſome particular examples of poetry before the reader.

There be two ſtout ſons of Æacus,
  Fierce Peleus, and the hardie Telamon:
Both ſeeming now full glad, and joyeous,
  Through the Syre's dreadfull juriſdiction:
Being the judge of all th' horrid houſe:
  And both of them by ſtrange occaſion,
Renown'd in choyſe of happie marriage,
  Through Venus' grace and virtue's carriage.

Theſe

Theſe verſes are manifeſtly very rough, and void of good rythm: at the ſame time they certainly terminate in an unpleaſing manner. Let us now ſubjoin ſome of a different caſt.

O flocks, O fauns, and O ye pleſaunt ſtreams
Of Tempe, where the country nymphs are rife,
Through whoſe not coſtly care each ſhepheard ſings
As merrie notes upon the ruſticke fife
As that Aſcræan bard, whoſe fame now rings
Through the wide world——

Let us add to theſe a few more of the ſame turn and cadence.

Ah, weladay, there is no end of payne,
Nor change of labour may intreated be:
Yet I beyond all theſe am carried far,
Where other pow'rs far different I ſee,
And muſt paſs over to the Elyſian plain, &c.

At what intervals were theſe different ſamples firſt produced; and who were the writers, that compoſed them? By thoſe, who were not before acquainted with them, it may be ſuppoſed, that there was a century and an half between them. No: they were of the ſame age, and from the ſame poet: and make a part of the ſame * poem. I mention this to ſhew, that, though there may be examples given, and a kind of ſtandard formed; yet the whole will be ſometimes but

* Virgil's Gnat, by Spencer.

partially,

partially, at other times not at all, obſerved. For if we find this difference in one and the ſame perſon, we muſt expect to meet with it among different people, and at different times.

It is not therefore an infallible way of proceeding to determine concerning one compoſition by another: nor muſt we uniformly ſuppoſe, becauſe a writer may be in ſome degree ſmooth and eaſy, that he muſt neceſſarily be of modern date. There are many paſſages in Spencer, which have a very obſolete appearance, far beyond the age of the poet. Both the terms, and the phraſes, of which he often makes uſe, alſo the manner of arrangement, and the turn of his verſification, afford evidence of this. Yet all his poetry has not this antique caſt; nor has the poetry of the times: and there are to be found verſes ſomewhat prior, which one would imagine were the produce of a much later æra. To this purpoſe I will beg leave to introduce a curious example: but I will firſt begin with ſome verſes from Spencer.

The ſoveraine of the ſeas he blames in vain
That once ſeabeat will to ſea again.
So loytring live you little heard-groomes,
Keeping your beaſts in the budded broomes,
And when the ſhining ſunne laugheth once,
You deemen the ſpring is come attonce:
Tho ginne you fond flies the cold to ſcorn,
And crowen in pipes made of greene corne,

You thinken to be lordes of the yeere,
And efte when ye count you freed from feare,
Comes the breme winter with chamfred browes,
Full of wrincles and froſtie furrowes.

Spencer's Shep. Calend. Paſtoral 4.

Let me now ſubjoin ſome verſes of a different nature from another writer.

The Almightie mind, that reigneth Three in one,
Diſpoſing all things from his ſtable throne,
Beheld the earth, and man among the reſt,
Moved by the crie of ſuch as were oppreſs'd.
But when he had the continent through viewd
With mawmetrie and idol blood embrew'd,
Where through his law and goſpel were defiled,
His love, his awe, his worſhip, quite exil'd:
He turn'd his face from that ſo foul a ſight,
And toward the iſles he caſt his look aright:
In hope, that where religion did abound,
He ſhould ſome lovelier ſight have quickly found.
But when he ſaw all ſins, moſt vile and naught,
Moſt rifely ſwarm where moſt his word was taught,
In England chief, where he of ſpecial grace
Had choſe to be his church and goſpel place;
And had for that cauſe pour'd on it ſuch ſtore
Of wealthy gifts, as none could wiſh for more,
Join'd with a king of ſuch a godly mind,
As never eers he ever had aſſign'd,
All woe and wrath he turn'd away his face, &c.

Theſe verſes might paſs for a compoſition of the preſent times, did we not know preciſely, when they were compoſed and printed. They are ſome years prior to the verſes of Spencer, with which they are contraſted, having been publiſhed by the learned author

near

near two hundred and thirty years ago. They are therefore more ancient than any thing publiſhed by the celebrated poet of that age: yet from their ſmoothneſs, rythm, and language, one might be led to imagine, that they were at leaſt a century poſterior. They might indeed be fairly taken for a work of the preſent * age.

To theſe let me ſubjoin an extract from ſome excellent verſes compoſed by Sir Henry Lea, Maſter of the Armoury to Queen Elizabeth, which I take the liberty to copy from ſome of thoſe curious fragments of antiquity preſerved by the honourable Mr. Walpole. Sir Henry had promiſed to appear in arms, and perform his duty every year in honour of her Majeſty; unleſs ſickneſs or age ſhould prevent him. Accordingly in the 33d year of her reign he made his appearance; but finding himſelf too much impaired by time for ſuch rough encounters, he paid his duty in another manner: and among other things he compoſed ſome verſes, of which the following ſtanzas were a chief part.

My helmet now ſhall make an hive for bees;
And lovers ſongs ſhall turne to holy pſalms:
A man at armes muſt now ſit on his knees,
And feed on prayers, that are old ages almes.

* They are extracts from a poem compoſed by Sir John Cheeke, upon the death of King Edward the Sixth; and printed 1553.

And

And ſo from court to cottage I depart:
My ſaint is ſure of my unſpotted hart.

And when I ſadly ſit in homely cell,
I'le teach my ſwaines this carrol for a ſong;
Bleſt be the hearts, that thinke my ſovereigne well;
Curs'd be the ſoules, that thinke to do her wrong.
Goddeſſe, vouchſafe this aged man his right;
To be your beadſman now, that was your knight.

If excellence betokens newneſs, theſe verſes ſhould have been of far later date, than is preſumed. But we know for certain, that they were compoſed, and ſet to muſic, as early as the year 1591: and were part of an addreſs to Queen Elizabeth, when Sir Henry Lea made his annual appearance in compleat armour before * her. He was contemporary with Spencer; on which account I bring theſe verſes as a contraſt to thoſe of that poet, which I quoted above.

I cannot forbear introducing ſome further paſſages from poems; and this in order to ſhew, that we may find compoſitions ſtill more ancient; which are tolerably harmonious; and alſo very intelligible: while others of far later date have a more antique appearance, and are difficult to be underſtood. The firſt inſtance ſhall be from the well known Scotiſh poem upon Sir William Wal-

* See Miſcellaneous Antiquities, or, a Collection of Curious Papers, &c. N° 1. p. 45. printed at Strawberry Hill, 1772.

lace.

lace. It is compoſed in the provincial dialect; but attended with very little obſcurity. The hero is introduced as retiring into a wood, and there blaming himſelf for having by ſome miſconduct brought his companions into a ſtate of diſtreſs.

Out of thair ſight into ane foreſt ſyde
He ſet him doun under ane aik to byde.
His bow and ſword he leynit to ane tre,
In anguiſch greit: on * grouf than turnit he.
This piteous mane was for his men ſa wrocht,
That of him ſelf lytill thing than he rocht.
O wretche, he ſaid, that never couth be content,
Of † ouir greit micht, that the greit God the lent.
* * * * * *
Far worthier, than I of birth was borne,
Throwe my deſyre for hunger ar forlorne;
I aſk at God, tham to reſtore again:
I am the caus, I ſuld have all the pane. l. 12. p. 170.

I will beg leave to introduce ſome more lines from another part of the ſame poem.

On Wallace ſet ane bicker bauld and kene,
Ane bow, he bair, was big and weill beſene;
And arrowis als baith lang and ſchairp with aw,
Na man thair was, that Wallace bow micht draw.
Richt ſtark he was, and in full ſouer geir,
Baldlie he ſchot amang thay men of weir.
Ane angill heid unto the huikis he drew;
‡ Syne at ane ſchot the foremoſt ſone he ſlew.
L. 4. p. 29.

Theſe verſes were the compoſition of a perſon ſtiled Blind Harry, in the reign of Ed-

* On his face. † Your. ‡ Then.

ward

ward the Fourth of England, and James 3d of Scotland. I will now ſubjoin a ſample of later date from a celebrated author of the ſame country. He is ſpeaking of the evil in the world; and the variety of wretchedneſs, which every where appears.

The railzeare rekkinis na wourdis, bot ratlis furth ranys.
Ful rude and ryot reſouns bayth roundalis and ryme.
Swengeouris and ſkuryvagis ſwankys and ſwanys,
Gevis na cure to cun craft, nor comptis for na cryme,
Wyth beirdis as beggaris, thocht byg be thare banys.
Na labour liſt thay luke tyl, thare luffis are bierd lyme:
Get ane biſmare ane barne, than al hyr blys gane is,
Sche wyl not wyrk thocht ſche want, bot waiſtis hir tyme,
In thigging, as it thryft war, and uthir vane thewis.

Prologue of Gawin Douglas to the 8th Book of Æneis.

Who would imagine that theſe verſes were many years poſterior to thoſe, which were quoted above? It may be ſaid, that the former have probably ſuffered ſome alteration. It may be ſo: but we have no intimation of any ſuch change: and if there has been; Rowley may have been altered in the ſame manner: ſo that we muſt make the ſame allowance to one, as we do to the other. As to the poem of Blind Harry, the copy from which I quote, has been printed an hundred and eighty years: which gives a tolerable antiquity to the language. But the poem itſelf

itſelf is ſuppoſed to be an hundred and twenty or thirty years more * ancient. We know for certain that it was far prior to the verſes, with which it is above compared.

I have other examples to produce, which are ſtill more to the purpoſe. In theſe there will neceſſarily be found ſome tincture of the times: yet the lines are very clear and intelligible. They have nothing in their compoſition, which is ſtiff and unnatural: but the true order of the words is properly preſerved; and the whole is attended with a rythm and harmony, far beyond what might be expected. I ſhall more readily make ſome extracts from the poems, to which I allude, as they are of the age of Rowley: and they are likewiſe written in the kind of ſtanza, which is often made uſe of by him.

The words of Grace to the ſick ſoul by way of warning.

The byrd, that ſyngeth on the braunche ſo hye,
And ſheweth hymſelf a luſty jolyvet,
Unto the deth is ſmyten ſodenly,
Er he be ware, or taken with a net.
I hane the ſay'd, how deth the hath aſſet,
And wel nigh undermined is thy wal:
But thou beware: ful grevous is thy fall.

* Some have referred it to the year 1361; but this cannot be true.

Two ſtanzas upon the Nativity of the Virgin Mary, who is compared to a branch. The words ſuppoſed to be ſung by Angels.

A bleſſed floure out of this ſpray ſhall ſprynge,
The fruyte ſhalle be ful ryche and precious;
A cauſe have we to joyen and to ſynge,
In honoure of that Mayden gracious,
That greate comfort ſhalle cauſen unto us.
For now ſhall faſt oure company encrees,
And God with man ſhalle make a fynal pees.

Of the WELL of LIFE.

Oute of this wel ſo noble lycour ran,
So fayre, ſo freſhe, ſo luſty hony-ſwete,
That ſythe the firſt day (that) the world began,
With ſuch a welle myght never no man mete.
All hevynes and malice ie foryete.
As toward man excuſed clene is he. (*i. e.* Chriſt.)
Honoured be the bleſſed Trynyte.

A ſtanza in the Song of Grace, who is ſpeaking to the Pilgrim.

Now cheſe thy port, of which thou wilt arrive.
But two ther ben; of ſolace, and dyſtreſſe.
At one thou myght thy ſelven kepe alyve;
And ever abyde in joye and luſtyneſſe.
That other port is care and wretchedneſſe.
Here cometh deth; and if that he the ſmyte,
There nys no leche, that can thy lyf reſpyte.

Grace

Grace ſpeaks again, and ſays—

How oft (en) time have I the told, and taught
The worthyneſſe of vertu and the mede?
How oft have I the from the clutches caught
Of Sathanas? yet takeſt thou no hede.
But now beware; and not withouten nede.
For ſykerly the bowe is bent ful ſore
To ſmyten the: then may I doo no more.

It is objected to Rowley, that many of his lines, if they were written as we ſpell now, would be found to differ very little from the language of the preſent times. How many verſes are there among thoſe, which I have quoted above, that would have the ſame appearance: and yet we are certain of their antiquity? For they were printed near three hundred years ago: and the perſon, who either compoſed, or tranſlated them, muſt have been ſtill prior: ſo that we may fairly rate him as a contemporary with Rowley. They may therefore ſerve to take off many objections made to the compoſitions in queſtion; eſpecially when it is urged, that they ſometimes want the true ſtamp of antiquity.

The following lines are as liable to be excepted to as any in Rowley; if a modern caſt be an exception. They might eaſily be put into a new dreſs: though I think, that they ſcarcely ſtand in need of it.

Thou, Lucifer, that lyeſt in hell ybounde;
That whylome was one of our company:
This mayden ſhalle the utterly confound.

Again in another place.—

I have been wyth the, when thou knew it not:
How oft(en) have I warned the bifore:
Somewhile aperte (and) ſomewhile prively?

I have produced theſe extracts, together with thoſe which preceded, to ſhew, how liable we are to be miſtaken, when we judge too peremptorily from ſtyle; and determine from thence the age of a compoſition. The verſes above for language, and rythm, are far ſuperior to any thing in Skelton: nor do they betray a greater ſhew of antiquity than many lines in Spencer, who was a century poſterior. There is therefore nothing ſaid againſt Rowley, which might not be urged againſt theſe; did we not know their antiquity. This proves, that objections of this nature are not well founded: for we are morally certain, that theſe poems are genuine: and we can form ſome judgment of their age from the time when they were printed. The ſame antiquity may be therefore allowed to Rowley. The examples, which I have quoted, are extracts from ſacred hymns interſperſed in a book ſtiled *The Pilgrimage of the Soul.* It is a tranſlation from a French treatiſe: and was printed by Caxton at Weſtminſter, anno 1483. The ſtanzas quoted are to be found, fol. 31. fol. 100. fol. 103. and fol. 19, and 20. They are written in the ſame kind

kind of ſtanza, as the Elinoure and Juga of Rowley; and the excellente Balade of Charitie. Some poems of Rowley are compoſed in the octave ſtanza: others conſiſt of ten lines; as is obſervable for the moſt part in Ælla, and the Eclogues, and the two Battles of Haſtings. This laſt meaſure ſeems to be that, which was called Rythme Royal; and could not but be well known in the times of which we have been treating: as the Italians extended their ſtanzas to this length, and ſometimes much beyond it. *Rithme royal is a verſe of ten ſyllables: and ten ſuch verſes make a ſtaffe* *. Gaſcoigne.

Other OBJECTIONS anſwered.

It is farther ſaid of theſe poems, that as they in ſome places ſeem too modern; ſo at other times they have a ſhew of too great antiquity. For they often abound with terms uncommon and obſolete; many of which are not to be found in the writings of that, or the preceding, age. The reaſon of this was probably, becauſe the author was fond of ancient lore: much of which he ſeems to have induſtriouſly adopted. He

* See Hiſt. of Eng. Poetry, by the Rev. Mr. Wharton, vol. ii. p. 165.

was moreover a provincial writer: and provincial terms are local: and we muſt not wonder, if they are not to be found among thoſe, who wrote in the capital, and addreſſed themſelves to the court. And this is not peculiar to Rowley: the like is to be obſerved in Robert of Glouceſter; as well as in Robert Langelande of Cleyberie. The ſame difference is to be alſo found in various manuſcripts. As to the laſt mentioned perſon, who was the author of the Ploughman's Crede, and Viſion, he is as much upon the extremes as Rowley. For he is not only in reſpect to diction as ancient, a circumſtance we might well expect; but oftentimes as modern, though a century before him. But though he abounds with antique terms, yet his diction is clear, and his words flow for the moſt part in their natural order; and his arrangement in moſt inſtances varies very little from that, which is in uſe at this day. His lines are often extended to fifteen ſyllables: but generally are fewer, and the metre is a kind of imperfect anapæſtic meaſure, attended with an uniform alliteration. I will give a ſample of ſome of the verſes, where the poet repreſents himſelf as taking a view of Nature, which he calls *Kind*.

And ſlepyng I ſe all thys, and ſythen came Kind
And named me by my name, and bad me nimen hede,
And

And through the wonders of this world wyt to take:
And on a mountain in the mydle erth hight as me thought
I was fette forth by enſamples to know,
And through ech creature, and kynd, my creatour to love.
I ſe the ſunne and the ſea, and the ſonde after,
And where the brydes and beaſtes by her makes they * yeden
Wyld wormes in woodes and wonderful fowles.
* * * * * *
Byrdes I beheld, that in buſhes made neſtes;
Had never wyghte wytte to worke the leſte.
I had wonder at whom and where the pie learned
To lygge the ſtickes, in which ſhe layeth and breadeth.
Nys wryght, as I wene, could worch her neſt to pay.
* * * * * * *
And yet me marvelled more, howe many other birds
Hydden and † hylden her egges full derne
In maryes and mores, for men ſhould hem not find:
And hydden her egges, whan they therfro went,
For fear of other fowles, and for wylde beaſtes.
* * * * * * *
And ſithen I loked on the ſea, and ſo forth on the ſtarres
Many ‡ ſelkouthes I ſee, but not to ‖ ſe now.
I ſee floures in the frythe and her fayre colours,
And how among the grene graſſe growed ſo many huis,
And ſome four and ſome ſwete; ſelkought me thought:
Of her kindes and of her coloures to carp it were long.

Ploughman's Viſion, fol. 58.

In another place the happy conſequences of a good conſcience, and the many evils which enſue from vice, are finely deſcribed.

* Go with their mates in pairs. † Covered.
‡ Wonderful things.
‖ Not to ſay, or mention at this ſeaſon.

Antichriſt had thus ſone hundreds at his banner,
And Pride it bare boldly about, where he * yede,
With a lord, that liveth after the likinge of his body,
That came againſt conſcience, that keper was and gydour
Over kind chriſten and cardinall vertues.
I counſel, quoth Conſcience, come with me foles
Into unitye of holy church, and hold we us there,
And cry we to Kind, that he come and defend us:
And cry we to all the commune, that they come to unitye
And there abyde and † biker againſt Belial's children.
Kind conſcience ‡ tho heard, and came out of the planettes
And ſent forth his forriours, fevers and fluxes,
Coughes and cordiacles, crampes and toth-aches
Reumes and radgondes, and raynous ſcalles,
Byles and botches, and burnynge agues,
Freneſes, and foul evill, foragers of Kinde,
That largely a legion loſten their lives ſone.
There was harow and helpe, here commeth Kinde,
Wyth death, that is dreadful to undone us all.
* * * * * * *
Age, the hoore, he was in the vawward,
And bare the banner before death; by right he it claimed.
Kinde came after with manye kene ſores,
As pockes and peſtilences, and much puple ſhent,
So kind through corruptions killed full many.
Death came dryving after and all to duſt paſhed
Kynges and Kayſers, Knyghtes and Popes,
Learned, ne § lewed, he ne let no man ſtande.
That he hitte even, he never ſtode after.
Many a lovely lady, and the lemmans of knightes,
Swoned and ſweltered for ſorow of deathes dints.

* Went. † Fight. ‡ Then. § Laymen.

Conſcience

Conſcience of his curteſye to Kynd then beſought
To ceaſe and to ſuffer, and ſe whether they woulde
Leave pryde privelye, and be perfite chriſten:
And pryde ceaſed tho, to ſe the people amende.
Fortune gan flatteren then tho fewe, that were alive,
And hight hem long life: and lechery ſhe ſent
Amonge all maner of men, wedded and unwedded,
And gathered a greate hoſte all againſt conſcience.
This lecherye leyed on with a laughing chere,
And with a privye ſpeach and painted wordes;
And armed him in idleneſs and in highe bearynge.
He bare a bowe in his hand: and many blouddy arrowes
Were feathered with fair beheſt and many a falſe
* truth.

Ploughman's Viſion, fol. 62.

There is high colouring in theſe verſes, and a vein of good poetry. Milton was acquainted with their excellence: for he has borrowed from one part of them; as may be ſeen in the twelfth book of his principal poem. We may obſerve, that the words are for the moſt part placed in their natural order: and the rythm is as juſt, and the lines flow as ſmoothly, as any where in Rowley: yet this compoſition, as far as we can judge, was a century prior.

Many however, who are admirers of theſe poems, ſtill inſiſt, that arts take up time to come to maturity; and that poetry muſt proceed by degrees towards excellence. It there-

* Truth and troth ſignified a promiſe.

fore

fore could not at ſo early a period have arrived at this degree of perfection. But this is mere matter of opinion, and by no means well founded. There was time ſufficient for a proper progreſs in ſcience: and in conſequence of it, a regular courſe of improvement. This may be ſeen, if we carry our views backward from the writings of Robert of Glouceſter down to thoſe of Gower, Lydgate, and Chaucer, and ſo onward in a ſeries to Occleve and Rowley. There is nothing ſo ſurpriſing in the pre-eminence of this laſt perſon among his compeers, as not to be found in the character of * Joſephus Iſcanus, who was for Latin verſe full as extraordinary in his time. The Engliſh began to have great helps towards improvement in the times of Lydgate and the writers above mentioned. They had commenced an acquaintance with the Roman poets; but more particularly with the Italians: to which laſt they looked up as to models of taſte: and whoſe works they copied, and tranſlated at large. Dante and Petrarch are often mentioned by them: and the metre, in which they wrote, and particularly their ſtanzas, ſhew, that they cloſely copied the Italians. This

* He lived and flouriſhed before the year 1200, and after, in the reigns of King Richard the Firſt, and King John.

leads

leads me to conſider an exception made to the poems in queſtion on account of the excellent rythm, with which they are for the moſt part attended; and of the true accent, which the author has preſerved in his terminations: there not being that undue ſtreſs laid on final ſyllables, as is to be found among other writers. It is to be obſerved, that when our poets began to be acquainted with the writers of Italy, they unhappily copied them with too little reſerve, in concluding their lines with words of many ſyllables. This, however admiſſible among the Italians, our language would not bear: and the harmony of our verſe was in great meaſure ruined by it. Yet the mode of writing was followed more or leſs from Gower and Lydgate down to Fairfax and Spencer. How cloſely it was copied by Lydgate, may be ſeen in every page; or to ſay the truth in every ſtanza. Of this we may have an example in the very firſt, which occurs in his poem of the Fall of Princes.

Whan John Bochas conſideryd had and ſought
The woful falle of myghty conquerours
A rememberaunce entryd in his thought
Recknyng the nombre of oure predeceſſoures
And firſt to mynd came the progenitoures
Of all mankynd. Far I ranne in age,
And towarde him holdynge their paſſage.

In

In ſome ſtanzas every line terminates in this unpleaſing manner. Thus, where he is mentioning the happineſs of our firſt parents in Paradiſe, he deſcribes it in the following manner.

And of their bliſſe to make mention,
And of their joyes, that were celeſtial,
There may be made no compariſon.
Of no joy, that is temporal,
Which ſhulde have be laſtynge and immortal,
Evir to have lyvyd in myrth and gladneſſe,
Save ageyn reaſon of very wilfulneſſe.

This mode of writing was undoubtedly more or leſs followed for a long time. Yet is there any thing extraordinary in a perſon of a good ear and taſte, deviating from this manner of compoſition, and following better examples? People have imagined, that all writers in theſe early times were equally void of rythm. But this is a great miſtake. In the extracts from Pierce Plowman (it matters not what the meaſure is) a juſt cadence is generally maintained; and the true accent preſerved upon the terminating ſyllable. Robert of Glouceſter was no poet, but a mere verſifyer: yet he had taſte enough to be ſomewhat cautious about the polyſyllabic * clo-

* He ſometimes admits it, when he is giving a liſt of places. When he ends with words of two ſyllables, there is reaſon to think, that in thoſe times the accent was upon the laſt; though it may have been ſince removed backward.

ſure.

ſure. It is to be found oftener in ten lines of Lydgate, Gower, and even of Spencer, than in an hundred of this writer. Hence we may perceive, that this mode of proceeding in Rowley was not new: though he has certainly improved upon thoſe, who went before him. I will produce an example to this purpoſe: by which it will appear, that writers very early knew how to keep up the natural arrangement of their ſentences, and to terminate their lines without any unnatural force in pronunciation. The verſes, which I quote, are from Robert of Glouceſter, and from the very beginning of his Chronicle.

Engelond ys a wel god lond, ich wene of eche lond beſt.
Yſet in the ende of the world, as al in the weſt.
The ſee goth hym al a boate: he ſtont as an yle.
Here fon heo durre the laſſe doute, but his be thorw gyle.
Of fol of the ſelve lond, as me hath y ſeye wyle,
From ſouth to north he ys long eigte hondred myle.
And four hondred myle brod from eſt to weſt to wende,
Amydde the lond as yt be, and nogt as by the on ende.
Plente me may in Engelond of alle gode y ſe,
Bute fole yt for gulte other geres the worſe be.
For Engelond ys ful ynow of fruyt and of tren,
Of woodes and of parkes, that joye yt ys to ſen.
Of foules and of beſtes of wylde and tame alſo:
Of ſalt fyſch and eche freſch, and fayre ryveres ther to.
Of welles ſwete and cold ynow, of leſen and of mede,
Of ſelver and of gold, of tyn, and of lede.
Of ſtel, of yrn, and of bras, of god corn gret won,
Of whyte and of wolle god, betere ne may be none.

Wateres

Wateres he hath eke gode y now, ac before alle other thre,
Out of the lond into the ſee, armes as thei be.
Ware by the ſchippes nowe come fro the ſe and wende
And brynge on londe god y now a boute in eche ende.
Severne and the Temeſe, Humber yt ys the thridde,
And then ys, as we ſeith, the pure lond a midde.

The language in this extract muſt neceſſarily be obſolete; as the perſon, by whom it was compoſed, lived an hundred years before Lydgate, and near two hundred before * Rowley. At the ſame time there are no pretenſions to poetry. Yet we may perceive, that the lines flow more equably and ſmoothly, than in many poets of later date. The like may be obſerved in many poems of theſe times, and even before; when we were as yet unacquainted with the Italians. Many of thoſe, who compoſed ſtanzas, wrote with great eaſe; and for the moſt part made their rhymes correſpond with the true accent of the terminating words. This will appear from many extracts to be found in Mr. Whar-

* He muſt have flouriſhed between the years 1260 and 1270, as he makes mention of the battle of Eveſham in the reign of King Henry the Third; and of the uncommon darkneſs, which then prevailed, and of which he was an eye witneſs.

— this iſei Roberd,
That verſt this boc made, and was wel ſore aferd.
p. 560.

The Battle of Eveſham was in the year 1265.

ton,

ton, if we look into his firſt and ſecond ſections concerning the hiſtory of Engliſh Poetry; from whence I will take the liberty of borrowing the following example. It appears, as we are told, to have been written by a lover in a walk near Peterborough about the year 1200, and as I ſhould judge in autumn.

Now * ſkruketh roſe and lylie flour,
That † whilen ber that ſuete ſavour,
In ſomer, that ‡ ſuete tyde:
Ne is no quene ſo ‖ ſtark ne ſtour,
Ne no luedy ſo bryit in bour,
That ded ne ſhal by glyde.
Whoſo wol fleſhye luſt for-gon and hevene bliſſe abyde,
On Jheſu be is thoht anon, that § tharled was ys ſide.

p. 30.

We have examples to the ſame purpoſe in the oppoſite page, but in a different meaſure. A lover addreſſes his miſtreſs, whom he ſuppoſes to be the moſt beautiful girl—

* Skruketh. fadeth: dieth. Skrokr, cadaver. ſkrokrman, cadaver hominis. Olaus. Verelius.

† That whilom, or one while, bore that ſweet ſavour. Savour comes from the French, *ſaveur*. Savour, honour, favour, and other words of the ſame analogy, borrowed from France, had in theſe times the accent uniformly upon the laſt ſyllable.

‡ Suete tyde: *pleaſant ſeaſon*.

‖ Stark and ſtour ſignify *hale* and *ſtrong*. From ſtour comes the word *ſturdy*, uſed at this day.

§ Tharled, the ſame as *thrilled*: pierced.

* Bituene Lyncolne and Lyndeſeye, Northampton and Lounde.

When the nytenhale ſinges, the wodes waxen grene,
Lef, gras, and bloſme, ſpringes in Avril y wene.

Theſe things I have mentioned, that people may not imagine, that Rowley had no patterns to follow but Lydgate, Gower, and Chaucer: and that he muſt neceſſarily have formed his ſtyle by them if he had written, what is attributed to him. But there were many writers prior to theſe; and ſome, that were contemporaries, who were not perhaps ſo good poets, yet wrote with more eaſe; and preſerved the harmony of the language: which Lydgate and Gower ſeem greatly to have injured. It is a great miſtake, to think, that Rowley was the firſt, whoſe rhymes were juſt; and whoſe verſes were ſmooth and natural. In proof of this I beg of any one to conſult the hiſtory of Engliſh Poetry by Mr. Wharton. Let him particularly conſider the extracts from the life of St. Margaret and St. Swithen, vol. i. p. 13. 15. both of great antiquity. The poem alſo called Vernon's Soulehele is worth his notice, p. 101. which begins—

Our lady and her ſiſter ſtood under the rood.

* They are ſuppoſed to be the product of the thirteenth century, and to have been compoſed towards the beginning of it.

or

or as it is expreſſed in the original

Oure Ladi and hire ſuſter ſtoden under the roode.

See alſo the Love-ſong—

Blow, northerne wynd; * ſent
Thou me my ſuetynge: blow
Northerne wynd, &c.
Ich † ot a burde in boure bryte
That full ſeemly is on ſyht. p. 26.

See alſo, p. 32. and all the poems before the year 1200. If we are not prejudiced by the obſoleteneſs of the terms, and the ſeeming uncouthneſs of the ſpelling, we ſhall find, that they ſhew greater eaſe, a better flow, and terminate more truly, than thoſe, which were an hundred, and an hundred and fifty years after. The writers, who immediately ſucceeded, have the ſame excellence. The language of times ſo remote muſt neceſſarily have ſome tincture of antiquity: otherwiſe, in reſpect to verſification, what can be eaſier than the following lines? They are taken from the Squire of Low Degree, a Romance in verſe, attributed to the thirteenth century, and alluded to by Chaucer. The daughter of a King of Hungary is repreſented as opening her chamber window in a morning, and liſtening to the ſquire's complaint.

* For ſend. † For got.

* That Ladi herde hys mournynge alle,
Ryght undir the chambre walle:
In her † oryall ‡ there ſhe was,
Cloſyd well with royall glas.
Fulfyllyd yt was with ymagery:
Every windowe by and by
On eche ſyde had ther a § gynne
‖ Sperde with manie a dyvers pynne.
Anone that ladie fayre and free
Undyd a pynne of yvere,
And wyd the wyndowes ſhe open ſet,
The ſunne ſhonne yn at his ** cloſet.
In that arbre fayre and gaye,
She ſawe, where the ſquyre lay.

There are many of theſe ancient poems, of which if we alter the ſpelling, and reduce it to the preſent uſage, the harmony of the lines will be more apparent. And this may be done without any force: and the verſes will then appear more modern by ſome centuries, than we know them in reality to be. This may be tried, if we take ſome paſſages

* Hiſt. of Eng. Poetry, vol. i. p. 175.

† A gothick, projecting window. There is in fortification a projecting work or caſemate, called an orillon at this day.

‡ The ſame as *where*.

§ It ſignifies an opening, from ȝin and ȝinn, hiatus, intercapedo. See Lye and Manning's Dict.

‖ From the verb ſpar, to faſten.

** By cloſet here is meant a little cloſe: a ſmall portion of ground incloſed: which in the next line is explained by a bower, or arbour.

from

from the poem before mentioned. In this the King of Hungary is ſuppoſed to addreſs and comfort his diſconſolate daughter; and to make her many noble promiſes, in order to alleviate her ſorrow. Among other things he tells her,

* To morrow you ſhall a hunting fare,
And † yede, my daughter, in a chair.
It ſhall be covered with velvet red,
And cloth of gold, about your head;
With damaſk white, and azure blue,
Well diaper'd with lilies new.
Your mantel of rich degree,
Purple pall, and ermine ‡ free.
Jennets of Spain, that be ſo white,
Trapp'd to the ground with velvet bright.
You ſhall have pſaltry, harp, and ſong,
And other mirthes you among.
You ſhall have Rumney, and Maleſpine,
Both Hippocras and vernage wine, &c.

---

* The original is as follows:

To morow ye ſhall yn huntyng fare,
And yede my doughter yn a chare.
Yt ſhal be coverd wyth velvette reade,
And clothes of (fyne) gold (al) about your hede
With damaſke whyte, and azure blewe,
Wel dyaperd with lyllies new.
Your mantel of ryche degre,
Purple pall and armyne fre, &c.

† Go.

‡ By free is ſignified any thing genteel and liberal: alſo any thing elegant and graceful.

When you come home your * menie among,
You ſhall have revel, dance, and ſong.
Little children, great and ſmall,
Shall ſing, as doth the nightengale.
Then you ſhall go to evenſong
With tenours and trebles among.
Threeſcore copes of damaſk bright:
Full of pearls they ſhall be † pyght.
Your cenſers ſhall be of gold,
Indent of ‡ azure many a fold, &c.
To your chamber they ſhall you bring
With much mirth and more liking.
When you are laid in bed ſo ſoft,
A cage of gold ſhall hang aloft,
With long pepper fair burning,
And cloves, that be ſweet ſmelling,
Frankinincenſe and Olibanum,
That when you ſleep, the § taſte may come.
And, if you no reſt can take,
‖ All night minſtrels for you ſhall wake.

I quote theſe extracts to ſhew in general the juſtneſs of the terminations, the eaſy and natural flow of the verſes, and the true

* Your family and friends: alſo your attendants and menial ſervants.

† Put, placed, or ſet.

‡ It ſeems to be lapis lazuli, which is here meant by azure. The cenſers were to be indented, or inlaid, with many little ſlabs of that blue ſtone. Azure alſo ſignified a dye or paint made of that mineral. Hence we read above of *damaſk white and azure blue*: *i. e.* a bue dye.

§ The flavour; fragrance.

‖ This poem is ſuppoſed to be written about the year 1280, or 1290, at leaſt before the end of that century.

order,

order, which is for the moſt part obſervable in the ſyntax. From hence we may learn, that Rowley had many examples to follow, far preferable for harmony either to Lydgate or Gower; though a great many years before them. To prove this preference, let me by way of contraſt produce ſome lines of Gower; who is ſuppoſed to have been a century and an half later: and that I may not be thought to pick out the very worſt, I will take the firſt, which occur in the very beginning of his poem; and conclude with the laſt.

I maye not ſtretche uppe to the heven
Myn honde, ne ſet al in even
This worlde, which ever is in balaunce:
It ſtant not in my ſuffiſaunce,
So great thinges to compaſſe,
But I mote lette it over paſſe,
And treaten upon other thynges,
For thy the ſtyle of my wrytinges
Fro this day forth I thynke (to) chaunge, &c. L. i.

How little he changed his ſtyle for the better, may be ſeen from the laſt paragraph at the end of the ſame poem: for I will make my quotations from the two extremes.

And nowe to ſpeke as in fynalle
Touchende that I undertook,
In Englyſshe for to make a boke,
Whiche ſtant betwene erneſt and game,
I have it made, as thylke ſame,
Whiche aſke for to be excuſed,
And that my boke be not refuſed.

Of lered men, when they it ſe
For lacke of curyoſyte.
For thylke ſcole of eloquence
Belongeth not to my ſcyence,
Upon the forme of rhetorike
My wordes for to peynte and pyke.
Confeſſ. Amant. p. ult.

Theſe lines bear ſufficient marks of antiquity; yet in ſome of theſe ancient writings the phraſes appear ſo trite, and common, and the whole turn of the language is of ſo modern a caſt, that we can hardly perſuade ourſelves that they can be of the age, or from the author to which they are referred. Such is the following expreſſion of a man in doubt; who is made to ſay, *Myn eie I caſte all aboute to knowe, amonge hem, who is who.* In another place we find a deſcription given of an ancient philoſopher, to the following purport. *He *fonde the nature of every element: their kindly workynge, and their mutacions: the courſe of ſtarres; and of the firmamente: their influences; their diſpoſitions; their aſpects, and their conjunctions; wrote in pillers deviſed of metal,* &c. Alter the ſpelling in two or three places, and the lines will appear as modern, as any of the preſent century. Nay, they might be produced as having been written yeſterday. But it may be ſaid, that theſe are not poetry. Certainly not: and

* For found, diſcovered.

perhaps,

perhaps, properly ſpeaking, not verſe: yet they were deſigned for both: and this will appear, when I aſſure the reader, that the firſt quotation is from * Gower, and the other from † Lydgate. Though I have written them quite at length, and not introduced either of them as verſe, nor the latter quotation as part of a ſtanza, yet the ſeveral parts were deſigned to correſpond, and to rhyme; two circumſtances, which if I had not thus noticed, the reader would hardly have found out.

When therefore we dwell upon detached pieces, and judge of the whole from a part, we are liable to be greatly deceived; let thoſe pieces be either bad or good. For writers are not uniform, and conſiſtent. As a proof of this I will produce ſome paſſages from the laſt rough poet, that I mentioned: which paſſages will be found not only of as modern an appearance, but alſo as ſmooth and as poetical, as any made at this day. Of this the following lines will afford us an example.

‡ Like as the dewe deſcendeth on the roſe
With ſylver drops.

---

* Confeſſio Amantis. L. viii. p. 187.

† Fall of Princes. Fol. 7. a.

‡ From Lydgate's Life of our Lady. See Hiſt. of Engliſh Poetry by Mr. Wharton, vol. ii.

Alſo theſe upon the paſſion of our Saviour.

* When he of purple did his baner ſprede
On Calverye abroad upon the rode
To ſave mankynde. ibid.

To theſe may be added the following inſtances from the ſame writer.

Out of the ſlepe of mortal heavineſſe
Awake anon, and look upon the light.

Again:

And he, who made the high and criſtal heven,
The firmament, and alſo every ſphere.

All the lines above quoted have a very modern appearance; yet they were many years prior to the moſt early compoſitions of Rowley.

I mention theſe things to ſhew, that we may often be miſtaken about the date of a writing, when either its excellency or inferiority is made a teſt of its age. A poem muſt not be denied its juſt claim to antiquity, becauſe in many places it maintains ſome portion of harmony. There is not a line in Rowley, which appears more liable to exception, than one, which I have quoted above from the Pylgrimage of the Soul; yet we know that it was printed near three hundred years ago; and may have been compoſed much earlier.

For now ſhall faſt our company encreaſe,
And God with man will make a final peace.

* Ibid.

We

We may likewiſe be deceived by familiarity of expreſſion: and when we read of a perſon's turning his eyes about to ſee *who is who*, little think, that it is an expreſſion of four hundred years ſtanding.

It is often aſked, *if theſe poems are genuine; how came they to be ſo long ſecreted from the world?* It may not perhaps be eaſy to give a determinate anſwer. But what does this amount to? The only rational inquiry to be made is, whether they were really ſecreted. Of this circumſtance, I think, we may be aſſured. Indeed there would never have been the leaſt doubt concerning the external evidence, had it not been for a ſuppoſed failure in the internal. We may not be able to account any more for theſe Mſſ. being ſo long neglected, than for thoſe of Heſychius, Phædrus and Velleius Paterculus, having been in the ſame ſituation. Urns with ancient coins have been loſt to the world for many centuries. People ſeldom aſk, why they lay ſo long hid: it is ſufficient, that they are at laſt diſcovered. And after all, what a number of manuſcripts are there of the ſame nature in the Bodleian, and other libraries; alſo in the Britiſh Muſeum, which lie in a like ſtate of oblivion, and are at this day utterly diſregarded. It is to be obſerved, that there are ſtrong marks of party in theſe poems.

In

In one of the eclogues Elinoure ſays to Juga,

O, maie ne ſanguen ſteine the whyte roſe peyncte.
p. 19. v. 10.

In other parts a contrary attachment is diſcernable. Now it is very poſſible, when the houſe of Lancaſter regained the throne, in the perſon of Henry the Seventh, who had married the heireſs of the houſe of York, that all writings, which had ſhewn a diſaffection to either ſide, were, for prudential reaſons, ſuppreſſed. And as the writings in queſtion were incloſed in a cheſt, and placed in an unfrequented tower, it might have been a long time before they were diſcovered; and ſtill longer before they were examined and regarded. This indeed ſeems to have been the fact: and though many of the Mſſ. may have been loſt, there are ſufficient ſtill remaining to atteſt this truth, that Mſſ. were depoſited, and preſerved in this manner. For a number of parchments ſtill exiſt, and their being thus found is atteſted by evidence paſt contradiction.

I have mentioned, that there are ſtrong marks of party in theſe poems. In conſequence of this there are ſeveral delicate touches upon the times; many refined ſtrokes and alluſions: which, as I have before obſerved, could not have proceeded from the boy Chatterton. The excellent

Ballad

Ballad upon Charity is in great meaſure a ſatire upon a perſon, who was an Abbot of a rich convent, and a Lancaſtrian. There are in this poem many curious references to the manners of the age; there is likewiſe much pointed invective: which could never have come but from a perſon, who was a contemporary; from one, who both ſaw, and felt, what he deſcribed; and who wrote from the keenneſs of party. The Storie of William Canynge is written too much from the heart to be a forgery: ſo likewiſe is that of Sir Charles Bawdin. The author of this was certainly of the Lancaſtrian party: from whence I am confirmed in my opinion, that theſe poems are not all by the ſame hand. The language of this poem ſeems to have been by ſomebody altered, and put into a modern dreſs: but the groundwork is undoubtedly ancient.

I cannot conclude without mentioning a difficulty, which has ariſen from ſome verſes, ſaid to have been ſent to Rowley by John Lydgate: and which, on that account, are thought to be ſpurious. For Lydgate is ſuppoſed to have died too early for any ſuch correſpondence. Bale however ſays, that he flouriſhed about the year 1440; and it is certain, that he lived ſome years afterwards. From hence we may learn, that the impoſſi-

bility

bility of theſe two perſons being acquainted is not juſtly determined. But let us conſider the objection in another light. The verſes are ſaid to have been ſent by John Lydgate, prieſt in London. Why muſt we take for granted, that this John Lydgate, prieſt of London, was the ſame as John Lydgate, who was a Benedictine Monk of Bury. Many have been ſearching into Lydgate's works of Bury, to find out the name of Rowley. They might juſt as well have looked into Fryar Bacon's Optics for the name of Lord Verulam. A prieſt of London could not be a monk of Bury: wherefore we may both from title and ſituation be aſſured, that notwithſtanding the ſimilarity of names they were two different perſons.

It is often aſked, how it came about, that Rowley is not mentioned by Bale. To this I can give no other anſwer, than that he was a recluſe, and remote from the capital. I can give no reaſon, why Lucretius is not mentioned by Horace: nor for many omiſſions of the like nature. If Rowley is not mentioned by Bale, or by Lydgate, as ſome have ſurmiſed, that he ſhould have been; Lydgate himſelf is not taken notice of by * Leland: which is far more extraordinary. For his works were in print in the time of

* Leland de Scriptoribus Britannicis.

Leland: and it was the very purpoſe of that author to give an account of the celebrated Engliſh writers. I beg to know what perſon of the times has once mentioned Robert of Brunne, or Robert of Glouceſter? Both Bale and Leland have paſſed them by unnoticed. Why then ſhould we be ſurpriſed, if they have omitted Rowley.

There is a circumſtance more extraordinary to be obſerved concerning Leland. He was a firſt-rate antiquary; and went over great part of England to make his obſervations upon cathedrals, abbies, priories, and other ancient buildings: and to commemorate the perſons, by whom they were built or endowed. He dwells long upon Briſtol, and ſpeaks of its ſtreets, bridges, churches, &c. He particularly mentions Redclyff Church: and ſtyles it, *Redcliffe, longe pulcherrima omnium Eccleſia. Yet in this recital he never makes the leaſt mention of Canynge, who was the great benefactor of Briſtol; and the conſtructor of this very church.

* Vol. vii. p. 85. He occurs in a different place as Dean of Weſtbury.

SOME

SOME OBSERVATIONS

Upon the real Poems of CHATTERTON, to which he put his Name: of his Miſtakes: alſo of his Parts and Attainments, &c. &c.

ALSO,

OBSERVATIONS

Upon the Notion of ſome Third Perſon being the Author.

I HAVE proceeded upon different grounds in order to ſhew, that the poems of Rowley are genuine: and that the perſon, to whom they have been generally attributed, could not have been the author. It has been my buſineſs to produce many ancient terms, which he did not underſtand: many remote and curious hiſtories, with which he could not have been acquainted. Some have

compared theſe poems with other productions of former times; and have thought, that they were too ſmooth and too correct for the time to which they have been adjudged. I have endeavoured to take off that objection, by affording many inſtances of ancient poetry, which have as modern a caſt: and which would be equally liable to theſe exceptions, if we were to proceed in this precarious and unjuſt mode of reaſoning. After all, the ſureſt way of judging, whether they were the compoſitions of this young man, would be to compare them with thoſe, which he acknowledged as his own. Several of theſe poems in diſpute were ſeen, when he was between fifteen and ſixteen; others ſomewhat later. Let us compare them with thoſe which were made in his eighteenth year, and towards the cloſe of his ſeventeenth; to which we know, that he ſubſcribed his name, and affixed the date: ſo that there can be no doubt about the true author, nor of the time of their publication. Two years make a great difference at this period of life. The mind improves in vigour and underſtanding, as much as the body does in ſtature and ſtrength: and this is viſible in all its operations. Let us then make an eſtimate of theſe different productions; and ſee, whether the latter have that ſuperiority over the former, which muſt naturally

naturally be expected from the time of life, in which they were produced. If they were both by the ſame hand, as has been ſurmiſed, and maintained; the leaſt that we can promiſe ourſelves from his lateſt compoſitions muſt be, an equal degree of knowledge, the like marks of deep reading, and inveſtigation, the ſame preciſion and accuracy, together with the true poetical fire, which had been exhibited before. Indeed we have a right to expect far more: but we will be content with this, if upon examination ſuch an uniformity can be found.

In the collection printed in the name of * Chatterton, and attributed to him, as the undoubted author, there are to be found ſome compoſitions, which were produced in his ſeventeenth year; but the greater part in his eighteenth, after he was arrived in London. The moſt early of theſe are ſome poems, written in imitation of Oſſian; which are pretended to have been of Saxon original. Theſe are void of all propriety and order: and conſiſt of the moſt wild and extravagant conceptions, attended with an unnatural pomp of words. They conſiſt of ſimilitudes without likeneſs; and compariſons void of all analogy. And throughout the whole, we

* Miſcellanies in proſe and verſe, by Thomas Chatterton. London, 1778.

are not ſo much informed of what was done, as when and how it was performed: ſo that every trifling circumſtance is ſet off with a mock repreſentation. One of theſe poems is called Ethelgar, another Kenrick, another Cerdick; and a fourth Godred Crovan. They are all in the ſame ſtile; the nature of which the reader will perceive from the following ſample. The lines are taken from the beginning of the poem, called Kenrick.

" When winter yelled through the leafleſs
" grove, when the black waves rode over the
" roaring winds, and the dark-brown clouds
" hid the face of the ſun; when the ſilver
" brook ſtood ſtill, and ſnow environed the
" top of the lofty mountain; when the
" flowrets appeared not in the blaſted fields,
" and the boughs of the leafleſs trees beat
" with the loads of ice: when the howling
" of the wolf affrighted the darkly glimmer-
" ing light of the weſtern ſky: Kenrick,
" terrible as the tempeſt, young as the ſnake
" of the valley, ſtrong as the mountain of
" the ſlain, his armour ſhining like the ſtars
" in a dark night when the moon is veiled
" in ſable, and the blaſting winds howl over
" the wide plain; his ſhield like the black
" rock, prepared himſelf for battle." p. 11.

* March 1769.

This is the moſt licentious, and the moſt prepoſterous way of writing, that ever was introduced: where there is nothing ſo plain but muſt have its parallel: and where the main object is loſt in illuſtration. Theſe compariſons are often ſo wild and extravagant, as to be too ridiculous to merit animadverſion. Thus he ſpeaks of *ſheep following the ſhepherd, as the beams of light attend upon the morning.* In another place he deſcribes the wolf, that *fled, like a falling meteor, to the war.* Sometimes, we have our expectations ſuſpended by a pompous addreſs; and when we come to the ultimate, we are totally diſappointed. Something of this ſort we experience in the exhortation of Kenrick to his ſoldiers: *Ye, Saxons, who live in the air, and glide over the ſtars,—act like your ſelves.* p. 13. There is a remarkable inſtance to the ſame purpoſe in one of his eclogues, where there is a ſolemn invocation for a perſon to attend to a weighty truth: which at laſt turns out nothing at all.

> He ſpoke, as evening thunders burſting near,
> His horrid accents broke upon the ear.
> Attend, Abraddas, with your ſacred prieſt:
> This day the ſun is *riſing in the eaſt*,
> The ſun, which ſhall illumine all the earth—&c.
> p. 62.

It may appear an invidious taſk, and it is certainly no pleaſing one, to decry the com-

 poſitions

poſitions of an unfortunate young man; and expoſe his miſtakes to the world: but as there are perſons, who rank his poems with thoſe of Rowley, and think them equally excellent; we have no way to take off this prejudice, but by ſhewing in this manner their great inferiority. Though he was pleaſed to ſay of himſelf, that *he had read more than Magliabecchi:* yet his reading was certainly ſcanty; and confined in great meaſure to novels, and magazines, and the traſh of a circulating library. Hence he had got by the help of memory, and a good ear, a flow of words; but not an equal ſhare of judgment and true knowledge. He had heard of the Saxons, and of the Danes: and had a notion, that the arrival of the former preceded that of the latter in this iſland: but at what interval he knew not. Hence a perſon, who is ſuppoſed to be fighting with the Danes, as late as the time of Alfred, is made contemporary with Hengiſt in the fifth century. —" Turn to me, ſon of Lofgar, I am Se-
" gowald of the lake. Haſt thou not heard
" of my fame in battle? When the army of
" Hengiſt panted on the dark-brown heath,
" I cheared them to the war." p. 54. This is repreſented as after the death of Hubba, conſequently four hundred years and more from the invaſion of Hengiſt. In all theſe

compoſitions

compoſitions we may perceive, that he continually had Rowley in his view, and thoſe poems, with which he was firſt acquainted. The ſame names occur, ſuch as Ælla, Tynian, Saint Cuthbert, and St. Cuthbert's ſhrine: the ſame terms — the anlace, the ſacred oak, the tall elm: alſo the ſame alluſions, and compariſons; but ſadly miſapplied. He gives the names of Saxons to Britons; and makes Edgar fight with Hengiſt. p. 35.

The next compoſitions are two African Eclogues, publiſhed ſome months after thoſe above, in the eighteenth and laſt year of his life. I am ſorry, that I am obliged to ſay, that theſe, like the former, contain a maſs of crude and indigeſted materials: and are void of all propriety and order. Theſe are written in rhyme, and confined to meaſure; ſo that in this reſpect they differ from thoſe before ſpoken of, in which there was a total deficiency of all rythm and harmony. The ſcene is laid upon the coaſt of Calabar; of which part of the world he ſeems to be very ignorant: not being acquainted with the names of the principal places, with the cuſtoms and religion of the natives, nor with the produce of the country. Hence he has ſubſtituted a number of ſtrange appellations, which his fancy in its wantonneſs ſuggeſted.

He ſpeaks of ſpicy lawns, and ſweet reeds: and has introduced a river Togla and Toddida: and, what is more extraordinary, a Tiber; on whoſe banks

—— The ſcarlet Jeſſamines bloom,
And purple aloes ſhed a rich perfume.

This African Tiber is ſaid to run through the deſerts of Arabia.

—— Tiber, whoſe waters glide
In ſlow meanders down to Gaigra's ſide;
And circling all the horrid mountain round,
Ruſhes impetuous to the deep profound, &c. &c.
* * * * * *
Till born upon the pinions of the air,
Through the rent earth the burſting waves appear.
Fiercely propelled the whiten'd billows riſe,
Break from the cavern, and aſcend the ſkies:
Then loſt and conquered by ſuperiour force,
Through hot Arabia *holds* its rapid courſe. p. 61.

He mentions more than once the ſacred oak, and myſtic trees: as if the rites of the Druids were to be found upon the coaſt of Guinea.

Like the loud eddies of Toddida's ſea,
The warriours circle the *myſterious tree.* p. 58.
The flying terrours of the war advance,
And round the *ſacred oak* repeat the dance. p. 57.
Swift from the branches of the *holy oak*
Horror, confuſion, fear and torment broke. p. 62.

Speaking of a Negro woman he ſays,

Black was her face ——

Which

Which is ſurely an unneceſſary truth: but in the wantonneſs of fancy he ſoon forgets himſelf, and mentions another, who is diſtinguiſhed for the redneſs of her lips.

> He ſaw and ſcattered poiſon in her eyes:
> From limb to limb in varied forms he flies;
> Dwelt on her crimſon lip. p. 65.

He ſpeaks of a fleet of an Ynca called Rhadal, p. 59. But when was the name of Ynca heard upon the coaſt of Calabar? For want of ſubject matter, he is often obliged to imitate his former tranſcripts; and to indulge himſelf in ſimily and compariſon. Theſe ſimilies are without number; and at the ſame time ill-choſen, and attended with little conformity. Such is that which follows.

> Strong was the paſſion of the ſon of Nair:
> Strong as the tempeſt of *the evening air.*

But the ſtrength of ſuch a tempeſt muſt be attended with no great violence: for the *evening air* is generally the moſt mild of any.

But the reader will be beſt able to form a true idea of theſe compoſitions, by having a ſample at large. The poet is ſpeaking of an unknown Deity, whom he ſtiles Chalma.

> Chalma, whoſe excellence is known from far,
> From Lupa's rocky hill to Calabar.
> The guardian God of Afric and the iſles,
> Where Nature in her ſtrongeſt vigour ſmiles.

Where the blue bloſſom of the forky thorn
Bends with the nectar of the opening morn.
Where ginger's aromatic matted root
Creep through the mead and up the mountains *ſhoot*.
Three times the virgin ſwimming on the breeze
Danced in the ſhadow of the myſtic trees:
Where like a dark cloud ſpreading to the view,
The firſt-born ſons of war and blood purſue.
Swift as the elk they pour along the plain,
Swift as the flying clouds diſtilling rain.
Swift as the boundings of the youthful roe,
They courſe around, and lengthen as they go.
Like the long chain of rocks, whoſe ſummits riſe
Far in the ſacred regions of the ſkies;
Upon whoſe top the blackning tempeſt lours,
Whilſt down its ſide the guſhing torrent pours.
Like the long cliffy mountains, which extend,
From Lorbar's cave, to where the nations end.
Which ſink in darkneſs, thick'ning and obſcure,
Impenetrable, myſtic, and impure—&c. p. 57.

The hiſtory of this young man, as a compoſer, ſeems to be this. He had a good ear, and an excellent capacity: by which means, when he had an opportunity of reading, he ſoon got a ſtore of language; and wrote with great fluency of expreſſion. It was his misfortune not to meet with the helps, which he merited, in order to his being improved in ſcience. Hence he never arrived at a juſt taſte in poetry: and with the ſublime, which he affected, he was totally unacquainted. However, though he failed in theſe points, yet upon common ſubjects, where nothing was requiſite, but an eaſy and natural flow of words,

words, he wrote many things, which were by no means contemptible. One ode in particular muſt be reckoned for the time, when it was compoſed, a laudable performance. It is inſcribed to Mr. Alcock, a miniature painter at Bath: and appears to have been written very early, when he was but juſt turned of ſixteen. But compoſitions of this nature require no extenſive reading; nor do they contain any extraordinary marks of genius. We find poems in the ſame ſtrain accompliſhed by perſons of little learning; and often by young ladies; who not being engaged in the ſtudy of the dead languages, gain an earlier intimacy with their own. In conſequence of this we have many odes and epiſtles, which for eaſe and harmony are excellent: and they certainly merit our regard; as far as common-place ſentiment, well expreſſed, can recommend them. They many times abound with happy turns, and pointed alluſions: and from the wit and humour, which they diſplay, cannot fail of being agreeable. But, as I before ſaid, for the framing of ſuch compoſitions, there is no need of any extraordinary parts; nor for any depth of erudition. A perſon may write volumes in this ſtile and taſte, and never be a Rowley.

Allowing therefore to this young man all the parts, which his moſt ſanguine friends would

would aſcribe to him; yet thoſe parts had been but poorly cultivated; and he had little or no ſhare of true learning. In none of the compoſitions publiſhed as his own, is there any diſplay of reading: no ſign of his having been acquainted with the abſtruſer parts of hiſtory; or with any hiſtory whatever. Yet ſomething of this ſort muſt have appeared, had he been the author of the poems in diſpute. If he had obtained any acquaintance with the hiſtorians, either ancient, or modern, he muſt have had ſome little knowledge in Geography; but how very deficient he was in that ſcience, may be known from his making the Tiber a river in Arabia. And this deficiency will appear more glaring, if we conſider the means, by which he was probably led to this miſtake. He intimates in ſome verſes to a perſon at Briſtol, that he had views of going abroad, and as we may infer, in the ſervice of the African Company.

Before I ſeek the dreary ſhore,
Where Gambia's rapid billows roar, &c.
* * * * * *
Now to the regions, where the ſun
Does his hot courſe of glory run,
And parches up the ground,
Where o'er the burning cleaving plains
A long *external dog-ſtar reigns,
And ſplendour flames around,
There will I go — p. 85.

* A miſtake, I ſuppoſe, for eternal.

This,

This, I imagine, put it into his head to attempt two African eclogues. To obtain a little knowledge of the country, he ſeems to have applied to ſome bookſeller for a map. Now it is to be obſerved, that the maps, which exhibit the great portions of the earth, are not limited to the boundaries of thoſe grand diviſions; but are generally extended farther, in order to ſhew how they are connected, and what countries lie immediately beyond them. Thus a map of Europe generally takes in Natolia, and part of Tartary and Siberia. And a map of Africa comprehends often in the ſame ſheet part of Aſia; particularly Arabia and Syria, as far as the Tigris. This ſeems to have been ill underſtood by the author of the Eclogues: who thought, that all in the ſame ſheet was of the ſame diviſion. He in conſequence of it took the Tigris, which he undoubtedly read Tibris, for an African river: and as he perceived, that it watered the upper provinces of Arabia; he has adjudged both Arabia and the Tiber to Africa. There is no accounting for his ſtrange miſconceptions, but upon theſe grounds. At all rates we may be aſſured, that a perſon, who was guilty of ſuch puerile miſtakes, could have no great pretence to learning. There are ſeveral places alluded to, whoſe names he did not accurately retain:

and

and with whoſe hiſtory he ſeems to have been quite unacquainted. Such is the great deſert of Zaira; the country of the Gaga; the country of the Binni; and Cape Lopo, or Lopez Gonſalvo. Traces of theſe we find in Zira, and its palaces, the ſteep cliff of Gaigra, Lupa's rocky hill, Lobar's cave, and the people of Banny. One would imagine, that he took the names vivâ voce from the mouth of a foreigner, without any regard to orthography: and wrote them down as they appeared in ſound from his pronunciation.

It is to be obſerved, that theſe Eclogues were compoſed, the one May 2d, 1770: the other June 12th the ſame year, and not long before his death; which was upon the 24th of Auguſt following. From theſe, which he compoſed in his eighteenth year, we may form a judgment of his abilities, when he was but fifteen and ſixteen. The inference is too plain to need any explanation.

It is therefore in vain to talk of parts, and genius. The greateſt capacity, that was ever conferred by nature, amounts to little; when left to itſelf, and debarred the means of improvement. Mr. Gray in his admirable poem on a Church-yard, takes notice of the rude forefathers of the hamlet: many of whom in a proper ſphere might have made a figure in the world.

Perhaps

Perhaps in this neglected ſpot is laid
Some heart once pregnant with celeſtial fire:
Hands, that the reins of empire might have ſway'd:
Or wak'd to extacy the breathing lyre—&c. &c.

But what were they in reality? Hewers of wood, and drawers of water: hinds and peaſants, who earned their bread in the ſweat of their brow. Among the ideal rulers, legiſlators, and the divine bards, here ſuppoſed, one half could not write their names. But it may be ſaid, that Chatterton was far ſuperior to theſe: he was a prodigy for parts; and had certainly obtained a great inſight into books, and a wonderful fund of knowledge. This, I know has been urged: but upon what is this opinion founded? It has ariſen from this. People have taken it for granted, that he muſt have been the author of the poems ſtiled Rowley's: and from thence they infer, that he was a perſon of great learning. And in truth ſo he muſt have been; if thoſe poems were his compoſition. But he uniformly tells us, that they were by another hand: and has prefixed to them the name of that perſon. I have from the real and indiſputable compoſitions of Chatterton endeavoured to ſhew, that he had neither the parts nor learning requiſite towards the executing, what has been thus imputed to him. He tells us in one of his letters, that he knew but one language: and all the

the means of knowledge, which his moſt ſanguine friends can deviſe for him, amount only to this, that he either borrowed, or hired, ſome books at his leiſure hours. The whole of the intelligence, which he gained, was from theſe ſlender helps; without any perſon to adviſe or aſſiſt him. But the poems of Rowley abound with much abſtruſe learning: and with continual references to ancient hiſtory: and they are compoſed in a language replete with obſolete terms, which are very difficult to be explained. It requires a great inſight into antiquity to find out the circumſtances alluded to; and even to underſtand the words. A perſon muſt not be a novice, who undertakes this: and at the ſame time he muſt have every help at hand, that can be adminiſtered. But Chatterton unfortunately had not theſe advantages. If we ſuppoſe him to have had the knowledge here ſpoken of, by what helps did he obtain it? Learning, he had none. To inſpiration he did not pretend: ſo that the only reſource that can be found out in his favour, is a circulating library. But this muſt have been a poor help towards theſe wonderful acquiſitions. He therefore never had the knowledge, of which ſome have thought him to have been poſſeſſed. But as mere aſſertions unſupported can have but little weight, the

beſt

beſt way is to let him again ſpeak for himſelf; that from his own evidence his attainments may be further known. I have given ſome inſtances of his deficiency in his poetical tracts: It may be worth while to ſee, if he ſhews any greater marks of either genius or learning in proſe.

In thoſe miſcellanies, which are reputed to have been without controverſy his compoſition, there is one treatiſe upon ſculpture and its origin. This was one of his lateſt performances, after he had been ſettled in town: and if he were a perſon of ſuch ſuperior ſenſe and learning, we ſhould I think meet with ſome traces of it here. But upon caſting my eye over it, I can find little elſe, but ſome common-place thoughts, and looſe opinions; and theſe backed by aſſertions void of all authority. Theſe ſhew how inadequate he was to the ſubject, which he had undertaken. He not only wants preciſion; but his language is very faulty: and it is plain that he was not well grounded in the firſt principles of grammar. It will be unneceſſary as well as tedious to lay the whole before the reader: I will therefore produce ſome extracts for his obſervation: and bring them, as they ſtand in ſucceſſion.

The Origin, Nature, and Deſign of Sculpture.

" 1. Sculpture is an art, which by deſign " and ſolid matter imitates the palpable ob- " jects of nature. It is difficult to aſcer- " tain the epocha of its origin: it is loſt in " the moſt remote antiquity.

" 2. The arts of imitation in general, as " painting, architecture, ſculpture, &c. were " the firſt invented.

" 3. Sculptors began to work upon clay " and wax, which are more flexible, and " more pliable than wood or ſtone.

" 4. The nations, amongſt which this " fine art was in the higheſt honour, were " the Ægyptians; thoſe people ſo celebrated " by the monuments of their gratitude to- " wards the memory of the kings their be- " nefactors. It was to perpetuate their " names, that they erected in the earlieſt " ages the two Coloſſean ſtatues of Mocrus " and the queen his ſpouſe.

" 5. The Ægyptian ſculptors excelled all " others in exactneſs of proportion, &c.

" 6. The Greeks ſubdued by the Romans " degenerated inſenſibly: and the arts va- " niſhed with their freedom.

" 7. Sculpture

" 7. Sculpture was an exotic which ne-
" ver could thrive in victorious Rome: its
" tranſient glory was eclipſed by the other
" arts in the reign of Auguſtus; it declined
" under Tiberius, Caius, and Claudius;
" and re-appeared with an enormous mag-
" nitude under Nero, &c.

" 8. The ſculptors gave the name of a
" ſtatue to a figure in emboſſed work, that
" ſtands by itſelf in wood, ſtone, marble,
" or metal, of perſons conſpicuous by their
" birth, their rank, or their merit, &c. &c.

" 9. The third ſpecies of ſtatues was de-
" ſigned for kings and emperors: they were
" taller than men commonly are; and thoſe
" that perſonated heroes were larger in pro-
" portion.

" 10. As for the coloſſean ſtatues, they
" repreſented gods, &c.

" 11. An equeſtrian ſtatue exhibits a man
" on horſeback; as the ſtatue of Charles the
" Firſt at Charing Croſs, &c.

" 12. A Greek ſtatue is naked and an-
" tique; thus called, becauſe the Greeks
" diſplayed in that manner the gods, the he-
" roes, and the athlets of the Olympic games.

" 13. A mauſoleum is a pompous funeral
" monument, decorated with ſculpture and
" architecture, &c. It derives its etymology
" from the magnificent tomb, which Queen

" Artemiſa cauſed to be erected for Mauſo-
" lus, &c." See Miſcel. in proſe and verſe, p. 142, 3, 4, 5, 6. This is all, that I ſhall quote, referring the reader to the Treatiſe itſelf, if he chooſes to ſee more.

The young man, having reſolved to write upon the ſubject above, ſeems to have had recourſe to particular Dictionaries, in which he peruſed the articles *Sculpture* and *Statue*. This was done at ſome bookſeller's ſhop: from whence he carried off all the intelligence, that his memory would bear; and ſupplied what was wanting from his own imagination. Hence he ſpeaks of ſculpture and painting as the firſt arts, which were introduced: not conſidering, that they depend upon many prior inventions, and could not ſubſiſt without them. Virgil, after ſeveral previous diſcoveries, adds,

> Tum ferri rigor, atque argutæ lamina ſerræ,
> (Nam primi cuneis ſcindebant fiſſile lignum)
> Tum variæ venere artes.
>
> Virg. Georg. l. i. v. 143.

He ſpeaks of the Egyptians being famous for the juſt proportion of their ſtatues: and of the *coloſſean* ſtatues of Mocrus and his ſpouſe. But in reſpect to the juſt proportion of theſe ſtatues the very contrary is the truth: which he muſt have known, had he ever had acceſs

to either Pocock or Norden. As to Mocrus and his ſpouſe, no ſuch perſons were ever heard of. I paſs over what is ſaid about the Greeks: and concerning the tranſient glory of ſculpture in the reign of Auguſtus, which *re-appeared with an enormous magnitude under Nero.* He ſays, that ſculptors *gave the name of ſtatue to a figure in emboſſed work of perſons conſpicuous by their birth, their rank, or their merit:* which plainly ſhews, that he did not know the meaning of the term *emboſſed:* and he ſeems to make the nature of a ſtatue depend upon the characters of the perſons repreſented. He again mentions *coloſſean* ſtatues, which he thinks originally were deſigned only for deities: and then informs his readers of an unneceſſary truth, that *an equeſtrian ſtatue exhibits a man on horſeback; as the ſtatue of Charles the Firſt at Charing Croſs.* This definition of an Equeſtrian ſtatue, and the example, with which it is accompanied, is, together with ſeveral other circumſtances, borrowed from the well-known dictionary of Ephraim Chambers: to which he ſeems to have been often * beholden. The laſt thing, of which I ſhall take notice, is his account of *a Grecian*

* See the articles Statue, and Equeſtrian Statue.

ſtatue: which, he ſays, *was naked and antique*: and *thus called, becauſe the Greeks diſplayed in that manner the gods, heroes, and athlets*, &c. Hence it is plain, that he thought an antique ſtatue to have been a particular ſpecies of ſculpture: and denominated from its form, and manner of repreſentation. He had undoubtedly met with prints of gods and goddeſſes; of fauns and ſatyrs; and likewiſe of wreſtlers and gladiators, in various attitudes: and he ſeems to have thought, that they were denominated antique from the geſtures and poſtures, which they exhibited, and from their being ſometimes not cloathed. He was led into this notion by the ſame authority of Chambers, whom he has in this inſtance, as well as in many others, blindly copied. I have many ſuſpicions about the ſtrange perſon Mocrus, who is ſaid to have had a ſtatue raiſed to him by the Egyptians: I am perſuaded, that it was a miſtake for Mœris. Our young author did not know the force and conſtruction of the diphthong œ: whoſe conſtituent letters are ſometimes disjoined. Inſtead of Mœris, or Moeris, he read Mocris; taking the letter e, for c: which Mocris was eaſily changed to Mocrus by the time that he got to his lodging. For, I believe, he was much diſtreſſed for intelligence; and forced to

hunt

hunt for it by ſtarts, and at a diſtance, wherever he thought there was an opportunity of obtaining it. For he certainly was put to his ſhifts, having few books of his own: and not being bleſſed with many other advantages, with which people of his zeal for ſcience are often found to be favoured. How much he was diſtreſſed for knowledge, and how boldly he borrowed, or rather purloined, cannot be better known than by the examples which follow.

Chatterton's Maria Friendleſs.

I.

I am reduced to the lot of thoſe unhappy beings from whom many, who melt at the ſight of all other miſery, think it meritorious to withhold relief: one whom the rigour of virtuous indignation dooms to ſuffer without complaint, and periſh without regard; and whom I myſelf have formerly inſulted in the

The Rambler's Miſcella. vol. iv. N° 170.

I.

I am one of thoſe beings from whom many, that melt at the ſight of all other miſery, think it meritorious to withhold relief; one whom the rigour of virtuous indignation dooms to ſuffer without complaint, and periſh without regard; and whom I myſelf have formerly inſulted in the pride of reputa-

the pride of reputation, and ſecurity of innocence.

2.

Being of an age in which young women are initiated in company; and as I was to move in a more genteel ſphere than formerly, I was no longer to be ſupported in my preſent character, but at a conſiderable expence.

3.

I was now completely depreſſed; and though I had ſeen mankind enough to know the neceſſity of outward chearfulneſs, I often withdrew to my chamber to vent my grief, and examine by what means I might eſcape perpetual mortification.

4. By

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Being now at an age in which young women are initiated in company, I was no longer to be ſupported in my former character, but at a conſiderable expence.

3.

I was now completely depreſſed; and though I had ſeen mankind enough to know the neceſſity of outward chearfulneſs, I often withdrew to my chamber to vent my grief, or turn my condition in my mind, and examine by what means I might eſcape from perpetual mortification.

4. By

4.

By this ſtratagem, which I did not at firſt underſtand, he filled me with additional tenderneſs and gratitude; compelled me to repoſe on him as my only ſupport; and by my ſenſe of his favour, and the deſire of retaining it, diſpoſed me to unlimited complaiſances. At laſt the wretch took advantage of the familiarity, which he enjoyed as my relation, and the ſubmiſſion, which he exacted as my benefactor, to attempt the ruin of an orphan, whom his indulgence had melted, and his authority had ſubdued.

5. In

4.

By this ſtratagem, which I did not then underſtand, he filled me with tenderneſs and gratitude; compelled me to repoſe on him as my only ſupport, and produced a neceſſity of private converſation. — My ſenſe of his favour, and the deſire of retaining it, diſpoſed me to unlimited complaiſance. At laſt the wretch took advantage of the familiarity, which he enjoyed as my relation, and the ſubmiſſion, which he exacted as my benefactor, to complete the ruin of an orphan, whom his own promiſes had made indigent, whom his indulgence had melted, and his authority ſubdued.

 5. In

5.	5.
In the moments of * perturbation—	In the moments of perturbation—

If any perſon after this ſhould inſiſt, that Chatterton had parts, I ſhall not heſitate to allow it, notwithſtanding all that has preceded. But he was void of judgment: and never had proper opportunities for improvement. The beſt inſtance of his taſte is ſhewn in his theft. He has ſtolen largely from Dr. Johnſon, and really with ſome addreſs. But this does not prove him to have been a great genius: much leſs a prodigy of learning. A perſon of very deep and extenſive knowledge has formed a very different opinion concerning this young man. He ſpeaks of him as † *a ſingular inſtance of a prematurity of abilities; and that he had acquired a ſtore of general information far exceeding his years: and that he poſſeſſed a comprehenſion of mind, and activity of underſtanding, which predominated over his ſituations in life, and his opportunities of inſtruction.* I am fully ſenſible

* For the diſcovery of this plagiariſm I am indebted to a learned and curious young gentleman at Cambridge.

† Hiſt. of Eng. Poetry by the Rev. Mr. Warton. Emendations and Additions to p. 164. vol. ii.

of

of every thing, which is due to a perſon of Mr. Warton's character; to whom the world is ſo much indebted. But after all, I know not how to ſubſcribe to his opinion; and, I hope, that he will forgive me, if I think that he has been rather too haſty in his determination. I muſt confeſs that I ſee nothing of this prematurity of abilities in Chatterton; nor of the ſtore of information, which ſo far exceeded his term of life: much leſs that comprehenſion, and that activity of underſtanding, with which he is ſaid to have been gifted. I cannot perceive any traces of theſe wonderful qualities. I believe, there are many clerks and apprentices in town, who by reading plays and magazines, and by frequenting the theatres, get a better knack of writing, than was to be found in Chatterton. His bad ſucceſs in his laſt ſtage of life, ſhews that he did not anſwer the expectations of thoſe, who employed him.

That he was not ſo ſuperior to others, as has been imagined, may be ſeen by comparing one of his compoſitions with another by one of his friends, upon a ſimilar ſubject. That of Chatterton's is ſtiled The Conſuliad, from the beginning of which the following lines are taken.

Of warring ſenators, and battles dire,
Of quails uneaten, Muſe, awake the lyre.

Where

Where C—mb—ll's chimneys overlook the ſquare,
And N—t—n's future proſpects hang in air,
Where counſellors diſpute, and cockers match,
And Caledonian earls in concert ſcratch,
A group of heroes occupied the round,
Long in the rolls of infamy renown'd;
Circling the table all in ſilence ſat,
Now tearing bloody lean, now champing fat,
Now picking ortolans, and chicken ſlain,
To form the whimſies of an a-la-reine.
Now ſtorming caſtles of the neweſt taſte,
And granting articles to forts of paſte.
Now ſwallowing bitter draughts of Pruſſian beer;
Now ſucking tallow of ſalubrious deer.
The god of cabinets and ſenates ſaw
His ſons, like aſſes to one center draw.
Inflated diſcord heard and left her cell
With all the horrors of her native hell.

The verſes which I ſhall bring by way of contraſt with the above, are from a poem called The Conſultation.

The clock ſtruck twelve: the buſy world at reſt:
Laughter, invention, argument, and jeſt,
Were heard no more. Repos'd lay old and young,
Clos'd every eye, and ſilent every tongue.
Sleep in her ſilken bands had all things tied;
All but the few, whom diſappointed pride
Urg'd on to madneſs: ſuch with troubled mind
Nor eaſe could know, nor balmy ſleep could find.
Perplex'd with thought profound here Party lay,
Told the dull hours, and languiſh'd for the day.
Reſtleſs, and pale, all comfort ſhe defied,
Whilſt wild Deſpair ſat weeping by her ſide.

A very

A very learned * friend, to whom I am obliged for the communication of theſe lines, accompanied them with the following words; "What I ſend is deſigned as a ſpecimen of the difference of abilities between Chatterton, and one of his intimate friends, who was the author of the lines quoted from the poem called The Conſultation. He was nearly of the ſame age, and, in my opinion, ſuperior to Chatterton, though he has been leſs noticed."

Thus much I have thought proper to ſay in reſpect to the parts and attainments of this unfortunate young man. If I have been obliged in the courſe of my arguments to diſcloſe ſome unfavourable truths; I hope it will be forgiven me: as I think, that there are ways and means by which I can make amends.

One circumſtance in the proceſs of this affair, and that of no ſmall moment, ſhould always be mentioned in his favour; I mean his inviolable attachment to the truth. He uniformly inſiſted, that the poems in diſpute were not his own. No perſuaſion, no force, no emolument, could oblige him, though in a ſtate of indigence, to take the honour of them to himſelf. He would not avail himſelf of praiſe, to which, he knew, he had no claim. Had he acted the contrary part, though he

* Dr. Glynn,

might

might have been at laſt detected, yet the immediate advantages muſt have been great. But neceſſitous as he was and humbled, he would not accept of bread upon thoſe terms. His ſpirit was above it.

After all that has been ſaid, it will be very unneceſſary to obviate every ſuſpicion and cavil, with which ſuch controverſies are attended. Yet it may be worth while to ſpeak to one objection; which, though of no great weight, yet has been very popular, and relates to the ſuppoſed ſecrecy, with which this tranſaction was carried on. *How came the tranſcriber to be ſo cautious, that nobody ever ſaw him in the act of copying theſe poems, or had a view of the Mſſ. themſelves?* This is a queſtion, which has been often put; and is eaſily anſwered. That the affair was carried on with caution, is very certain. For when Chatterton began to examine the Mſſ. he had ſufficient ſagacity to know, that they were of conſequence. And though they had lain for near three centuries neglected, yet he was ſenſible, that neither he nor his father had any right to remove them: nor had he any plea or title to keep them in his poſſeſſion. This made him cautious of ſhewing them, for fear of their being demanded of him. In conſequence of this, he copied them at his maſter's office; which was very private, and

at

at ſome diſtance from the houſe. However, both Mr. Barret, and Mr. Catcot, ſaw ſome of them, which they procured for themſelves from Chatterton: and they were alſo ſeen by other people; who have given a poſitive atteſtation to the fact. More perſons than one ſaw him in the act of copying, as will be ſhewn. It may be farther aſked, *What became of thoſe Mſſ. which remained in his hands?* for many muſt have remained, if we may judge by the tranſcripts. The caſe I apprehend to be this: When he found, after all that he had ſaid, that the poems were treated as forgeries, and that he was himſelf traduced as a cheat, his pride was neceſſarily affected: and we may reaſonably ſuppoſe, that he acted by theſe writings, as he is ſaid at the cloſe of his life to have done by his own: he demoliſhed them utterly; as thinking that the world did not deſerve them. He ſeems to have been greatly irritated at his veracity being diſputed. For he was ſo far from taking the merit of theſe poems to himſelf, that he was continually giving teſtimony, that they were by another hand; and in doing this, he was ſo zealous for the truth to his own diſadvantage, that he could never forgive thoſe who controverted his aſſertions. Thus in a treatiſe, where he has ſubſcribed himſelf

ſelf by the title of Harry Wildfire, he falls very cruelly upon an honourable perſon, whoſe rank and character deſerved far greater reſpect. This gentleman had ſuppoſed the poems in queſtion to be ſpurious; which was ſufficient to make him incur the invective of Chatterton. And the ſame fate attended every one, who controverted this truth. Hence towards the middle of the ſame treatiſe, there is a ſarcaſtical reference to this purpoſe; and the author, ſpeaking of ſome abſurd notion, ſays—*Should any critic aſſert, that it is impoſſible ſuch an imagination ſhould enter any perſon's head, his aſſertion ſhall ſtand uncontradicted by me: as I know by woeful experience, that when an author reſolves to think himſelf in the right, it is more than human argument can do, to convince him he is in the wrong.* p. 299.

Some to avoid the perplexity, with which the affair ſeemed to be attended, have given a new turn to the matter in debate: and imagined, that theſe poems were neither the compoſition of Rowley, nor of Chatterton, but of ſome third perſon. This is an expedient the moſt ſtrange that could ever be conceived; and attended with the greateſt inconſiſtency. Before there was an alternative: and if theſe writings could not be fairly adjudged to one of the two perſons, they neceſſarily

ceſſarily fell to the lot of the other. By theſe means there was a fair chance of coming to a determination. But we in this caſe are withdrawn from the light, of which before we had ſome ſhare; and reduced to a ſtate of darkneſs, in order that we may ſee more clearly. Hitherto there were two perſons, whoſe hiſtory was in ſome degree certified to us; and we had ſome ſure footing, upon which we might proceed. But we are now referred to an ideal perſon: one who was never ſeen, nor any way known: concerning whom there is no tradition; nor the leaſt pretence to any evidence. How can perſons of any reaſon ſuffer themſelves to be ſeduced by ſuch an illuſion? Beſides, what do we get by ſuch a ſuppoſition? If there were any difficulties before, they recur in this caſe with far more force, and in greater numbers. Chatterton prefixed the name of Rowley to the poems: He gave alſo an account how they were firſt found; and acknowledged, that he was not the author. Thoſe, who are not ſatisfied with this evidence, aſk, How theſe writings came to be ſo long ſecreted? If Chatterton copied them; who ſaw him take the copies? If they were from parchments; where are thoſe parchments? Why were they ever concealed? How came Rowley himſelf not to be better known?

known? When was he born? At what time did he die? And by whom of his contemporaries is he mentioned? Now I do not ſee how we get rid of any one of theſe difficulties by ſubſtituting for a perſon, little known, another who is totally unknown. In reſpect to Rowley, and his tranſcriber, ſome light may be obtained: and the queſtions are not unanſwerable. But upon an unknown ſubject, nothing can be ſaid: nor can we give a ſolution to any one of theſe queries. Therefore I do not ſee, what we get by thus contending in the dark. Will not the ſame queſtions be aſked, Why the poems were ſo long hid? and, Why the author is no where mentioned? &c. &c. The difficulty in ſome reſpects is as great as before: in others far greater. Beſides, if ſuch a perſon, as is ſuppoſed, had ever exiſted, how came Chatterton, through whoſe hands theſe writings have come to us, not to have put that perſon's name to them? What could poſſibly induce him neither to give the honour of them to the true author, nor to take the merit of them to himſelf? but to aſcribe the whole to a third indifferent perſon, who had no pretenſions to them? The ſurmiſe is of all others the * moſt idle.

* See theſe objections very ſatisfactorily anſwered, in a very ingenious treatiſe, the title of which is—Remarks upon the Eighth Section of Mr. Warton's Hiſtory of Engliſh Poetry, vol. ii.

Let

Let us then return to Chatterton:— he was known to be of an irritable diſpoſition, and very greedy of fame. There are many pieces of his writing, full of invective, becauſe he did not meet with that favour, which he thought his merit deſerved. Yet in reſpect to the compoſitions in diſpute, he uniformly gives the credit of them to Rowley. Many of theſe were ſhewn to people of conſequence in town, when he was ſixteen years old: they were likewiſe ſeen by many of his friends at Briſtol. As he ſurvived nearly two years, how came he never in all that time to retract, and vindicate them for his own? Why did he ſtill perſiſt to his own detriment? And as theſe compoſitions are two-fold, why did he give the honour to Rowley, where they were excellent; and only inſcribe his name to thoſe, which were inferior? for far inferior they moſt certainly are. It is well known, that he did not begin to copy, till he was about fifteen years old: and it is wonderful, that he could tranſcribe ſo much as he is found to have done, in the time afforded him. But if, inſtead of tranſcribing, he be ſuppoſed to have been the compoſer; he muſt have begun earlier: and even his fourteenth year will not afford time ſufficient for the whole, which

was performed. But who can poſſibly think, that a boy from a charity ſchool at that age could have effected, what we know to have been done? Theſe poems are all in a very obſolete dreſs, and relate to ancient hiſtory: and the whole, as we are told, would amount to two volumes. We will therefore take the very lateſt period, at which we can imagine that he began to compoſe: and we will allow it to have been when he was about fifteen. We are then to ſuppoſe him at that age to have ſat down with a fixed reſolution to deceive the whole world; and to have proſecuted the ſcheme all through life to his own prejudice: giving uniformly the credit of his compoſitions to another; and abridging himſelf of every advantage, which might accrue from them. But this is not all. He muſt have had a degree of patience beyond a ſaint: otherwiſe he would not have perſevered, without any encouragement, in this unfrequented track, in which he had idly engaged himſelf. But we have the evidence of thoſe who knew him, and a ſtill ſtronger teſtimony from his own writings, that patience was not one of his virtues. He was cholerick beyond deſcription; and given to the moſt violent ſallies of paſſion: yet in none of theſe did he ever retract, what he had

once

once aſſerted; or avail himſelf of any opportunity of claiming theſe poems as his own. Not a hint ever drops from him, that the name of Rowley was ſuppoſititious: or that the honour withheld from the true author was in reality denied to himſelf. So far from it, that in a letter to his mother about three months before his death, he tells her, that *had Rowley been a Londoner inſtead of a Briſtowyan, he ſhould have lived by copying his works.* See Mr. Tyrwhitt's Preface, p. ix. This is an atteſtation ſo ſtrong in reſpect to the genuineneſs of the poems, that one would think, nothing could be oppoſed to it. Yet it is ſet aſide as of no validity; becauſe the perſon, from whom it came, is ſuppoſed to have been a cheat. But, as I have ſaid before, nobody goes on in a long proceſs of deceiving, when every ſtep is to his own detriment. He would certainly ſtop ſhort in good time; and make ſome change in a plan, from which no good proceeded. But this young man perſeveres to the laſt: and in a confidential letter to his mother, intimates, as a thing well known to her, that he was himſelf only a tranſcriber. The mother, as well as the ſiſter, is ſtill alive: and they have given their repeated evidence to the ſame purpoſe. They have atteſted, and are ready ſtill

to atteſt, that theſe poems were not of Chatterton's compoſition: and that they know, he only tranſcribed them. If a young lad of little or no principle ſhould find a treaſure of old poetry, and put it off for his own; I ſhould not much wonder. But that ſuch a perſon ſhould compoſe to this amount, and then give the credit of it to another, is paſt my comprehenſion. It is repugnant to nature, and contrary to all experience. Yet this is ſuppoſed to have been done; not in one or two inſtances, but in a long ſeries of compoſition. We ſee a young man, of an eager temper, and zealous of praiſe, out of humour with the world for not paying the regard due to ſome of his inferior productions: and at the ſame time he denies it to himſelf, where he had a better claim; and where the object was of far greater merit. For the poems, which have the name of Rowley affixed to them, are certainly very fine: but thoſe, which we know aſſuredly to have been compoſed by Chatterton, fall very ſhort of ſuch excellence. The beſt of them do not riſe above mediocrity: and many are very low and abject; and cannot be held in any degree of eſtimation. Yet, upon the ſuppoſition, that he was the author of the whole, theſe, of which we are ſpeaking, muſt have

have been compoſed much the lateſt, however inferior they may be to the former; ſome of which muſt have been near three years prior, had they been the work of his hands. This too is contrary to reaſon and experience. When we ſpeak of difficulties, with which this ſubject is accompanied, theſe are the real difficulties, to which we ought to attend. Many of the others are imaginary: but theſe are real, and not to be got over upon the notion, that Chatterton was the author of theſe poems. It may be ſaid, *for that very reaſon we ſubſtitute a third perſon.* But when did he live? in the time of Rowley? Then the ſame objections made to Rowley will be brought againſt him. Was it in the time of Chatterton? I do not ſee how we at all rid ourſelves of the perplexity, which we have before experienced. This perſon muſt have acted the ſame part: laboured for years to no purpoſe; and denied himſelf all the honour reſulting from his operations. May we then imagine him to have been in an intermediate ſtate? Still the ſame difficulties will ariſe; and the ſame, or ſimilar queſtions be aſked. At what time did he live? who ſaw him? who heard of him? in what manner were the writings tranſmitted? where were they procured?

who was witneſs to the originals? and who ever ſaw them copied? How came they not to have the author's name? and if they had not the author's name, how came they to be aſcribed to Rowley? The only expedient, that I can think of, to ſolve all difficulties, is to ſuppoſe, that nobody wrote them: this perhaps may ſatisfy all parties. No, it will be ſaid, *that is a ſuppoſition too abſurd to be admitted: it is an inſult to common ſenſe.* In good truth, I ſee very little difference between aſcribing them at once to a non-entity, or giving the merit of them to an ideal perſon, a phantom of our own raiſing. In the mean time, what is become of Chatterton and his wonderful parts; which for a long time were ſo much cried up? Though he was till near fifteen at a low pariſh ſchool, where he had no opportunity of obtaining any portion of real learning; yet he was ſpoken of as a prodigy, for ſagacity and knowledge: and this, to render him adequate to the performance, which was unduly aſcribed to him. But he is at laſt found wanting, and accordingly ſet aſide; his high pretenſions not being ſufficiently determined. And yet I ſhould have thought him preferable to his ſubſtitute, who has no pretenſions at all.

It has been very juſtly ſaid, that there is great pleaſure, as well as propriety, in detecting a fallacy, and expoſing an impoſtor. But the converſe of this is equally true: for there is the ſame propriety, and, I am ſure, ten times more ſatisfaction, in doing juſtice to departed merit; and reſtoring thoſe honours, which have been unduly awarded.

EXTERNAL EVIDENCE.

IT is my hope, that, from the internal evidence afforded, the point, which I took in hand to prove, has been ſufficiently aſcertained. On this account it may ſeem unneceſſary to proceed any farther. But as the external evidence is very copious, and the producing of it will be attended with much curious hiſtory, both in reſpect to the poems, and the perſons concerned; it will not, I believe, be unſatisfactory, if I lay it before the reader.

The poems, and other writings, concerning which there has been ſo much diſpute, were originally collected by Mr. William Canynge, a merchant of Briſtol, who was, as has been before

before mentioned, a perſon of great wealth, and five times mayor of that corporation. The collection appears to have been very large: and great part of it was obtained for him by a very learned perſon, his friend and confeſſor, Thomas Rowley. Theſe manuſcripts were of ſo much value, that Mr. Canynge took great care for their preſervation: and gave directions, that they ſhould be ſecured in a large cheſt, which he ordered to be placed in a ſort of muniment room over the north porch of St. Mary Redcliffe church. This beautiful church he had himſelf built: and to this, as a ſanctuary, he conſigned the valuable depoſit. Of this we have a moſt ſatisfactory proof, from a Latin deed, in the poſſeſſion of Mr. Barrett of Briſtol. It is a tolerably fair manuſcript, and of indiſputable antiquity; and not written by a private hand, as many of the manuſcripts are; but in a regular official character. In this deed, made in the eighth year of king Edward the Fourth, there is an account of ſome chantries founded by Mr. Canynge: and among other things is mentioned the principal cheſt; out of which the writings in diſpute were taken. This cheſt is particularly deſcribed, and ſtiled, Ciſta ſerata cum ſex clavibus, *the cheſt locked with ſix keys*. Concerning theſe keys there was an order

order in the deed, that two of them ſhould be intruſted to the miniſter and procurator of the church: two to the mayor, and another of the corporation: and one to each of the churchwardens; who were to act as truſtees. There was to be an annual viſitation; and an entertainment upon the occaſion, with a particular gratuity to each of the viſitors; the expences of which were to be defrayed from certain eſtates appropriated to that purpoſe. There is a farther account, though little known, of Canynge's principal cheſt. We from hence learn, that it was not only a receptacle of writings, but of money; which uſed occaſionally to be depoſited in it. Concerning this we have the following account from Ricaut's *Mayor's Calendar*. It was uſual for the mayor, on the morrow of All Souls Day, to walk to Redcliffe accompanied by the town-clerk: and there to ſit in audit upon William Canynge's chantries, with the vicar, and proctors: which being finiſhed, the town-clerk entered the account in a book there, called *Canynge's Leiger*, and the mayor then received a noble, the town-clerk 20 *d.* the ſword-bearer 8 *d.* and the ſerjeants at mace 16 *d.* Ricaut's Mayor's Calendar, 160. b. This Ricaut was town-clerk of Briſtol in the 18th Edward IVth,

A. D.

A. D. 1479. His Mayor's Calendar is a Mſ. now extant in the chamber of the city, in the town-clerk's office; and, as is believed, no where elſe. I was obliged for this and other curious intelligence to my very excellent and learned friend Mr. Henry Dampier. Concerning this I had a curious extract ſent me by the ſame learned friend from the ancient book in the veſtry of Redcliffe church; in which mention is made of the two chantries founded by Mr. W. Canynge, conformably to the account given in the manuſcript of Mr. Barrett. It is moreover mentioned, that in the year 1475 John Hixton, and ſome other perſon, proctors, paid 37*l.* 10*s.* 7*d.* on account of thoſe chantries: and that a ſurplus was ſet apart for Canynge's ſinging-clerks; and placed in *a cofre* called *Mr. Canynge's cofre, lying in the trezor-houſe of the ſaid church, before the mayre.* The muniment room, where Canynge's cheſt now ſtands, is in the deeds called *Domus Theſauraria:* and in the above-mentioned book money is often ſaid to have been delivered into this *cofre.* I am credibly informed, that it has always been difficult to get acceſs to the veſtry-book of Redcliffe church: and that it was utterly unknown to Chatterton. The above accounts from this

book

book ſhew the authenticity of Canynge's original deed, which is in the hands of Mr. Barrett. Indeed there can be no doubt of its antiquity.

Concerning the Diſperſion of the Manuſcripts.

The gratuities, paid at the annual viſitation, were eſteemed of ſome conſideration, when they were firſt appointed; but as the wealth of the nation, and of Briſtol in particular, increaſed; they muſt by degrees have become of leſs value; and at laſt ſcarcely worth demanding. And from hence, I imagine, proceeded a neglect in the truſtees: ſo that in proceſs of time this annual viſitation ceaſed; and the writings were totally diſregarded. As far as we can judge, they appear to have been deſerted and unnoticed for a long interval of years: in which interval the ſix keys, with which they were ſecured, ſeem to have been * loſt. All this, I think, may to a degree of certainty be inferred from the

* It was an unlucky precaution, to appoint ſo many keys: for one being loſt rendered the others in a manner uſeleſs.

conſequences.

conſequences. For in the year 1727 there was a notion, that ſome title-deeds were in the cheſt: and thoſe of the veſtry directed, that it ſhould be opened under the inſpection of an attorney; and that the writings, deemed of value, ſhould be removed to the ſouth porch of the church. Accordingly, all the locks were forced; and the cheſt broken open: and as there were other cheſts in the ſame place, if I miſtake not, ſix in number, ſuppoſed to contain ancient writings, they all ſuffered in the ſame manner. The deeds, which related to the church, were in conſequence of this removed; and all the other manuſcripts left at large, without any defence; being totally neglected, as things of no value. Thus were the good purpoſes of this excellent man ruined; and all his precautions rendered ineffectual. From this fatal æra the writings were at the will of any perſon, who thought it worth while to aſk for them. How ſoon the demolition began, is uncertain: nor can it be known, what the original quantity was. Mr. Shiercliffe, a gentleman now living, and well reſpected at Briſtol, viſited the tower in the year 1749: and he told me, that he ſaw the parchments lying there to a conſiderable amount. He at that time practiſed miniature painting; and

in

in conſequence of it was acquainted with Mr. Millar, who was then painting a kind of monument for Perrot, the ſexton. This Perrot had been in good buſineſs, but failed by enterprizing too far; and was content to act in that low occupation. He had a deſire to have ſome memorial of him put up, before he died: and Millar was accordingly painting a tablet for him. And having nearly finiſhed it, he deſired Mr. Shiercliffe, who ſtood by, to add ſomething of a freeze or volute: *for your hand,* ſays he, *is ſteadier than mine.* Mr. Shiercliffe at his requeſt performed it: which ſo pleaſed Perrot, that he led him all over the church; and among other things ſhewed him the north porch, where the parchments lay. Mr. Shiercliffe ſaid, that he ſaw them in heaps, ſome quite looſe, ſome tied up: that they were covered with duſt; and looked rumpled, ſtained and torn; and very much marked with age. Perrot ſeemed to intimate to him, that he might, if it were agreeable, take ſome of them. But he did not regard the hint; as he had no taſte for ſuch ancient writings. Yet Perrot had certainly ſome notion that they were of value: for he made uſe of theſe remarkable words, at leaſt words to this purpoſe; that *there were things here, which would one day be better known*; and that *in proper hands they*

might prove a treaſure. Mr. Shiercliffe mentioned, that, as he had occaſion to pull out his knife, he took the opportunity to mark upon the handle the year of the performance: for, ſlight as it was, he at that time was not a little pleaſed with it. This was three years before the birth of Chatterton. He added, that, when the name of Rowley was afterwards brought up, and his poems became the publick talk, it revived in his mind many faint ideas of this tranſaction.

It was about this ſeaſon, that the final devaſtation happened among theſe venerable remains of antiquity. Some of the parchments ſeem to have been carried away before: but now the laſt hand was put to their diſſipation. A woman, as I was informed, acknowledged, that ſhe had carried off a lapfull; which ſhe employed in cleaning ſome of her kitchen furniture. One Morgan, who had been a barber, took away ſome; which, I believe, are ſtill preſerved. Theſe ravages were continually repeated, till the cheſts were exhauſted. But the perſon of all others to be remembered was Mr. Chatterton; the father of the young man, with whom we are ſo much concerned. He was a ſinging-man of the cathedral; and uſed to copy muſick: and at the latter part of his life he was maſter of the free ſchool in Pile-ſtreet. And as his uncle

uncle had been ſexton of St. Mary Redcliffe, and he was acquainted with the people of the veſtry, it gave him acceſs to that church. By theſe means he had permiſſion to take away many of the parchments: and with the aſſiſtance of his boys he carried off at one time, what they call a *maund baſket* full of them; which he put into a cupboard in the ſchool. Many of theſe ſeem to have been frittered away, and employed in vile uſes; as the value of them was not known. About this time the miniſter of the pariſh, Mr. Gibbs, made a preſent to the ſchool of twenty bibles. As the whole number of the boys was forty, theſe bibles were to be given to the twenty out of that number, which ſhould be found to read beſt. Old Mr. Chatterton, in order to preſerve theſe books from being damaged, covered them with ſome of theſe parchments, which he cut to pieces for that purpoſe. When he died, and his widow was obliged to remove, ſhe carried what remained of them to her own houſe.

Under ſuch unfortunate circumſtances were theſe curious manuſcripts after a long interval of neglect brought to light. And when they were at laſt diſcovered, it was in great meaſure to their diſſipation and ruin. Thoſe, which had the good fortune to be preſerved, ſeem to have been for a long time little

known: and the few perſons, who had obtained any knowledge of them, did not entertain the leaſt idea of their value. The firſt time, that their worth ſeems to have been ſuſpected, was in the year 1768, at the opening of the new bridge at Briſtol. There had been a publication in one of the weekly journals printed by Felix Farley; in which was contained an account of the ceremonies obſerved ſome centuries before, at the opening of the old bridge: and this was ſaid to be taken from an ancient manuſcript. The curioſity of many perſons, and particularly of Mr. George Catcott, was by this publication raiſed; and they began to make enquiry from what hand it came. All the intelligence, which the printer could after ſome inveſtigation obtain, amounted to this; that the perſon, who brought the account, was a lad about fifteen or ſixteen years of age; and that his name was Chatterton. It was about this time, in the latter end of the ſame year, that Mr. Catcott, walking with a friend in Redcliffe church, was informed by him of ſeveral ancient pieces of poetry being found there; and that many ſpecimens were in the hands of a young lad, with whom he was acquainted. This perſon proved to be Chatterton; to whom Mr. Catcott deſired to be introduced. He accordingly had an inter-

view; and ſoon after obtained from him, very readily, without any reward, the Briſtowe Tragedy, Rowley's Epitaph upon Mr. Canynge's anceſtor, with ſome other little pieces. In a few days he brought ſome more; among which was the Yellow Roll. Theſe, of which ſome were copies, and ſome originals, were immediately put into Mr. Barrett's hands. During the converſations, which Mr. Catcott had about this time with the young lad, he heard him mention the names of moſt of the poems, ſince printed, as being in his poſſeſſion. He afterwards grew more ſuſpicious, and reſerved: and it was but rarely, and with difficulty, that any more originals could be obtained from him. He became more and more out of humour with the world; and in theſe diſtempered moods ſeems to have made away with many of the manuſcripts. Indeed he confeſſed to Mr. Catcott, that he had deſtroyed ſeveral: and ſome, which he owned to have been in his poſſeſſion, were never afterwards ſeen. One of theſe was the tragedy of the Apoſtate; of which a ſmall part only has been preſerved by Mr. Barrett. The ſubject of it was the apoſtatizing of a perſon from the Chriſtian to the Jewiſh faith. He mentioned, that his father, who was of the choir at Briſtol, and took much pleaſure in muſical compoſi-

tions, had a manuſcript of muſick, compoſed by Rowley. Whether this came into the poſſeſſion of the ſon, is not known. It might poſſibly be the book, out of which he was taught his letters by his mother: for ſhe taught him from an ancient manuſcript of muſick, which had been her huſband's. Upon his death ſhe had been obliged to remove; and on that occaſion carried with her all the manuſcripts, which remained. Theſe were conſigned to a large box, and put under a bed: in which ſituation they were afterwards found by her ſon. As he was the perſon, who diſcovered their merit, and through whoſe hands they have been tranſmitted to us; it will be proper in this place to ſay ſomething of his hiſtory.

Some Account of CHATTERTON, and his Diſcovery of the Manuſcripts.

Though I had received ſufficient evidence from a very particular friend, who had made the moſt fair and impartial enquiries; and upon whoſe repreſentations I knew that I could depend: yet I thought it proper, to prevent every ſcruple, to viſit myſelf the perſons principally concerned with the young man: and to obtain immediate intelligence from

from thoſe, who were perſonally connected with him. From his mother, and from his ſiſter, I learned, that he was born upon the 20th of November 1752, a few months after his father's * death. That he was put to ſchool in Pile-ſtreet to be taught to read, under Mr. Love, who had ſucceeded to his father as maſter. That he was ſent back to his mother, when he was about five years old, as a dull boy, and incapable of inſtruction. His mother upon this took him in hand herſelf: and firſt taught him his letters, as I

* CHATTERTON

Born two or three months after his father's death, —	20 November	1752
Left the ſchool in Pile-ſtreet, when five years old, —	November	1757
Went to Coulſton's ſchool, before he was eight, —	October	1760
Left Coulſton's, and was articled to Mr. Lambert, when fourteen years and ſeven months old, — — —	1 July	1767
He was almoſt ſixteen at the opening of the new bridge, and had been at Mr. Lambert's one year and three months, —	1 October	1768
Soon after known to Mr. Barrett and Catcott, — —	November	1768
Left Mr. Lambert's, when ſeventeen years and five months old,	April	1770
Died unhappily, — —	22 Auguſt	1770

have before mentioned, out of an old manuſcript muſick book; in which the initials were ornamented. She afterwards taught him to read out of a black-letter teſtament: which probably may have laid the foundation of his attachment to manuſcripts and ancient writings. In his eighth year he was ſent to the blue-coat charity ſchool at St. Auguſtine's back, founded by Edward Coulſton, Eſq; where he was kept, as all the boys were, very cloſely and uniformly confined. Here he continued till the firſt of July 1767: and upon the ſame day, that he quitted ſchool, he went to Mr. Lambert's, an attorney of that place; being at that time fourteen years and eight months old. He continued in this ſituation till April 1770: when he went to London, in great hopes of raiſing himſelf in the world by his writing for bookſellers, or for any other perſons, who ſhould employ him. But it appears, that he was ſadly diſappointed; and died in a moſt melancholy manner the ſame year, upon the 22d of Auguſt, aged ſeventeen years and nine months. I aſked Mrs. Chatterton, if ſhe knew any thing of her huſband's bringing the manuſcripts from Redcliffe church; and of his making uſe of part of them to cover bibles. She told me, that ſhe certainly did: and intimated, that he had otherwiſe employed them:

them: and particularly ſhewed me Clark's Hiſtory of the Bible, which ſhe ſaid had been covered in the ſame manner. She likewiſe remembered her ſon's firſt taking notice of the manuſcripts in the box; which was when he had been ſome time at Mr. Lambert's, and was turned of fifteen: alſo of his carrying them away in his pockets.

I had the like information from Mrs. Newton, the ſiſter of Chatterton; to whom I made application for intelligence. She remembered well the manner of her brother's being taught to read, from the old muſick book; and from the teſtament in black letter; being herſelf ſomewhat more than three years older than her brother. She could alſo recollect the whole proceſs of his diſcovering the parchments in the box; and of his joy, and extaſy, when he found out that they were of value. She mentioned likewiſe, that when he could get leave from Mr. Lambert, he uſed to return with eagerneſs, and fill his pockets, in order to carry off what might ſuffice him to copy. After this he would upon another viſit read to her with infinite ſatisfaction what he had tranſcribed; and ſometimes ſhew great indignation at her not having a proper taſte for ſuch compoſitions. One time in particular he uſed very hard words, and left her in great diſpleaſure. He

read them likewiſe to ſeveral of his friends; and finding, that they did not afford that regard, which the poems merited, he often repeated thoſe memorable words, that, *had Rowley been a Londoner, inſtead of a Briſtowan, his (Chatterton's) fortune would have been made.* This is mentioned in a letter to his mother, when he was in London: but his ſiſter remembers his uſing the ſame expreſſion occaſionally, before he went thither. He alludes to it himſelf, in thoſe verſes from Briſtol, with which his will is accompanied. I deſired to know of Mrs. Newton, if he always diſtinguiſhed Rowley's poems from his own; and if he never took the merit of them to himſelf. Her anſwer was, that he always mentioned the poems, which he copied, as Rowley's. He uniformly ſpoke of them as ancient; and treated them with a kind of veneration. He ſometimes read his own compoſitions to her jointly with the others: but ſtill he made a diſtinction: and though he was well ſatisfied with his own verſes, yet he ſeemed to treat thoſe of Rowley with a different regard. I aſked her, if ſhe had ever ſeen him copying any of the manuſcripts, which he had carried away. She ſaid, *never, that ſhe could remember, excepting once: at which time ſhe came upon him unexpectedly, at his maſter's office.* The houſe, it ſeems, was

at

at the diſtance of above half a mile from the office; at the latter of which, on account of privacy, he uſed to tranſcribe. Great difficulties have been unneceſſarily raiſed; upon a ſuppoſition, that nobody ever ſaw this young man with the manuſcripts before him, and in the act of copying. But the fact we find was not true: and of one inſtance to the contrary we are aſſured by the evidence of Mrs. Newton. And if ſhe had not accidentally met with this information, yet ſhe had ſeen the originals repeatedly: and ſhe was an indiſputable witneſs to the copies from them, though not to the copying. However, there are other proofs to the ſame purpoſe. Mr. Capel, a jeweller at Briſtol, reſided, when an apprentice, in the ſame houſe, where Mr. Lambert had his office. He told me, that he ſaw Chatterton, the very day that he came from Coulſton's, with the tonſure on his head, and in the habit of the place. He was afterwards acquainted with him; and might have been very intimate: but the young man's pride diſguſted him; and he had at the ſame time a diſlike to his principles. However, ſome correſpondence was maintained between them: and Mr. Capel often called in upon him, when he was writing: and he aſſured me, that he had at times ſeen him copying the manuſcripts. I aſked him,

him, if they were parchments: to which he anſwered, with proper caution, that he could not, after ſuch an interval, take upon him to determine about them: as he had at that time no inducement to make any particular enquiry; nor could he apprehend, that they would be found of ſuch value. He ſaid, he remembered very well, that they lay in heaps, and in great confuſion; and ſeemed rumpled, and ſtained: and near them were the papers, upon which Chatterton was tranſcribing. Thus much, he ſaid, he knew for certain, that Chatterton ſpoke of the manuſcripts as ancient writings: and among other things told him, what affords very material evidence, that *he was then ſtudying to underſtand the old language, in which they were written.* One reaſon for this privacy in writing he thought might ariſe from the diſlike, which Mr. Lambert ſhewed to Chatterton's being employed in this manner. And Mr. Capel thinks, that he never ſaw the young lad copying, but when his maſter was gone from home. But there were certainly other reaſons. He concluded with telling me, that he had ſeen many of Chatterton's early compoſitions, at the ſame time that he produced thoſe of Rowley. But there was always, in his opinion, a material difference; the latter being far ſuperior. And he added in reſpect

to

to Rowley's poems, that he did not believe there were two perſons in Briſtol, who thought Chatterton was the author. *Sir*, ſays he, *I know, that he was incapable of writing them.* He told me farther, that Chatterton one time was compoſing a play for ſome itinerant players: and he added with a ſmile, *that the real author of Ælla would never have written for ſtrollers.* In ſpeaking of his appearance, he ſaid, that there was generally a drearineſs in his look, and a wildneſs; attended with a viſible contempt for others. There was moreover, upon his being any way irritated, or otherwiſe greatly affected, a light in his eyes, which ſeemed very remarkable. The ſame circumſtance I have heard from others, who knew him. In ſhort, Mr. Capel acknowledged, that Chatterton had parts; but not adequate to the compoſitions in diſpute, of which he was ſuppoſed to have been the author.

It is well known, that one of Chatterton's moſt intimate friends was Mr. Cary, who had been acquainted with him at ſchool. On which account it may not be improper to mention part of a letter, which this perſon wrote in Auguſt 1776 to Mr. George Catcott, who had requeſted his evidence in order to ſtrengthen his own.

" Sir,

" Sir,

" It being your requeſt, that I ſhould " give you my opinion of the authenticity " of Rowley's manuſcripts; I can only ſay, " that I have frequently heard Chatterton " make mention of ſuch writings being in " his poſſeſſion ſhortly after his leaving " ſchool; when he could not be above fif- " teen years of age: and that he had given " Mr. Barrett and Catcott part of them. " Not having any taſte myſelf for ancient " poetry, I do not recollect his having ever " ſhewn them to me: but he often men- " tioned them; when, great as his capacity " was, I am convinced, that he was incapa- " ble of writing them, &c. &c.—This, I " think, I am warranted in aſſerting; as " from my intimacy with him I had it in " my power to, and did, obſerve the pro- " greſs of his genius, from its infancy to its " fatal diſſolution. His abilities for his age " were undoubtedly very great; but not " equal to the works of Rowley: particu- " larly at the age, when he firſt produced " them to light, &c."

Another of Chatterton's boſom friends was Mr. Smith, the ſon of a brewer at Briſtol. As he was about the ſame age as his com- panion, he knew the whole of his hiſtory; and nobody ſeems to have been in a greater

degree

degree of confidence with him, during his ſtay at Lambert's. But this perſon has been for ſome time abroad: on which account I can only give his evidence at ſecond-hand; as I received it from a * particular friend, in whoſe veracity however I can ſafely confide. I ſhall lay it before the reader, for the moſt part, as it was afforded in a ſhort dialogue between theſe two perſons. My friend's enquiry, if I miſtake not, was made in the year 1778: and he wrote down with great accuracy every anſwer, that was made.

Dr. G. When firſt, in what manner, and how often, did Chatterton read Rowley to you?

S. When with Mr. Lambert: not before: ſometimes whole treatiſes; ſometimes parts only; and this very often.—I mean, he uſed to read to me very often ſome ancient pieces of writing, which came from the room over the north porch at Redcliffe. I do not know, that they were all by Rowley. But I never heard him ſpeak of any ancient poet beſides Rowley.

Dr. G. Were theſe manuſcripts upon vellum? and did you ſee theſe manuſcripts? and how many?

* Dr. Glynn.

S. Yes,

S. Yes, they were upon vellum. I have ſeen ſuch manuſcripts. I have ſeen a conſiderable number of them; perhaps a dozen. Many, as I remember very well, had the heads of Kings and Popes, or ſomething in that way, upon them; and ſome were as broad as the bottom of your chair.

Dr. G. Did you ever ſee him tranſcribing any of them? and where?

S. Yes, often; very often; at Mr. Lambert's office: and he has frequently read to me there, what he had juſt tranſcribed. But I had no taſte for ſuch things.

Dr. G. Did he ever tell you when, and in what manner, he came by theſe manuſcripts?

S. Yes; about the time when he firſt went to Lambert's. He had them from a box, which had belonged to his father: and his father had them from Redcliffe church. His father being dead, and theſe parchments in the poſſeſſion of his mother; they for many years ſhared the common fate, that old parchments uſually do. That is, ſome were turned into * thread-papers; ſome into patterns; ſome into

* I did not chooſe to aſk Mrs. Chatterton about the Mſſ. being put to theſe uſes; as it might have embarraſſed her: and it was a circumſtance not very material. Yet there could be no more harm in her making uſe of them

into dolls, and the like. In ſhort, they were applied to all thoſe vile and mean uſes, which waſte writings are liable to be put to. He added, that the manner of their being diſcovered to be of value was this. When young Chatterton was firſt articled to Mr. Lambert, he uſed frequently to come home to his mother by way of a ſhort viſit. There one day his eye was caught by one of theſe thread-papers. He found not only the writing to be very old, the characters very different from common characters; but the ſubject therein treated was different from common ſubjects. Being naturally of an inquiſitive and curious turn, he was very much ſtruck with theſe appearances: and, as one would expect, began to queſtion his mother, what thoſe thread-papers were; how ſhe got them; and from whence they came. Upon farther enquiry he was led to a full diſcovery of all the parchments, which remained, and of what value they were. This was the hiſtory given by Mr. Smith; which was very carefully taken down by my friend. The following account

them for thread-papers, than for her huſband employing them for covers of books. When the value of a thing is not known, we cannot wonder at any miſapplication. If ſhe did act as is ſurmiſed; ſhe did no more, than any other perſon would have done in the ſame circumſtances.

is very remarkable. He was always, ſaid Mr. Smith, very fond of walking in the fields, and particularly in Redcliffe meadows; and of talking about theſe manuſcripts, and ſometimes reading them there. *Come*, he would ſay, *you and I will take a walk in the meadow. I have got the cleverest thing for you, that ever was. It is worth half a crown merely to have a ſight of it; and to hear me read it to you.* When we were arrived at the place propoſed, he would produce his parchment; ſhew it, and read it to me. There was one ſpot in particular, full in view of the church, in which he always ſeemed to take a peculiar delight. He would frequently lay himſelf down, fix his eyes upon the church; and ſeem as if he were in a kind of extaſy or trance. Then, on a ſudden and abruptly, he would tell me, *that ſteeple was burnt down by lightning: that was the place, where they formerly acted plays:* (meaning, if I remember right, what is now called the Parade). I recollect very aſſuredly, that he had a parchment in his hand at the very time, when he gave me this deſcription: but whether he read this hiſtory out of that parchment, I am not certain. Being aſked, if Chatterton uſed to ſpeak of theſe Mſſ. as ancient, and as Rowley's, he anſwered, always as ancient; and ſome of them as Rowley's:

ley's: but whether all as Rowley's, he could not determine. Being farther interrogated, whether Chatterton ever ſpoke of theſe manuſcripts and poems, in ſuch a manner, as if he would have people believe, that they were his own; he replied: Chatterton not only never offered to claim them as his own; but never ſo much as dropped any hint that way: never ſeemed, as if he wanted people to ſuſpect, much leſs believe, that they were of his compoſing. *Look you, Sir,* ſaid he, *you will be pleaſed to underſtand me right. What I have here ſaid, I mean in reſpect to ſuch things only, as he gave to Mr. Catcott and Barrett, which were undoubtedly ancient. Whatever he gave out as his own, or publiſhed as his own, I know to have been his unqueſtionably. He had no occaſion to be beholden to any other man's labour for a character. Sir, he was one of the moſt extraordinary geniuſes I ever knew; the moſt extraordinary I ever heard of.* He then went on in an encomium upon his friend, which was much too extravagant; yet excuſable in one, who had ſo great a regard for his memory.

But, whatever the genius and abilities of this young lad may have been, they were unaſſiſted for the moſt part, and uncultivated. This will in great meaſure appear from the teſtimony of this very perſon; who, being

queſtioned, confeſſed Chatterton's ignorance of thoſe languages, which principally conduce to cultivation and knowledge. For when it was aſked, whether he underſtood Latin and Greek; the reply was, *not in the leaſt. He had intimated,* ſaid Mr. Smith, *very frequently, both a deſire to learn, and a deſign to teach himſelf, Latin; but I always diſſuaded him from it, as being in itſelf impracticable. But I adviſed him by all means to try at French. As to Latin, depend upon it, you will find it too hard for you. Try at French, if you pleaſe: of that you may acquire ſome knowledge, without much difficulty: and it will be of real ſervice to you.* Of his utter ignorance in reſpect to the ancient languages, I was farther aſſured by Mr. Barrett; who knew much of him in the two laſt years of his life; and who was a better judge of his abilities than any of his companions. He told me, that Chatterton once borrowed of him Skinner's Etymologicum; but returned it in a few days, becauſe moſt of the interpretations were in Latin. He did the ſame by a ſmall Saxon dictionary, which had in like manner been lent to him; and which he returned on the ſame account. Among the many circumſtances mentioned by Mr. Smith, one is very remarkable. It is well known, that Chatterton was very ambitious to be known, and very greedy of praiſe;

praiſe; ſo that he loaded the preſs with his own productions. Yet he never gave the leaſt hint to his friend, that he ever intended to collect and publiſh Rowley. And though, during his ſtay at Lambert's, a great number of his own compoſitions were ſent up to town for the preſs; yet of the ancient poems none, I believe, except that ſhort one of Elinoure and Juga, were ever tranſmitted for publication: and even this, when ſent, had the name of Rowley prefixed to it; by which he diſtinguiſhed it from his own.

As it was curious and neceſſary to know, what aſſiſtance the young man had towards obtaining any knowledge, my friend Dr. Glynn applied to Mr. Clayfield in Caſtle-ſtreet; as he was ſaid to have lent many books to Chatterton. But the account, which he gave, was, that, to the beſt of his remembrance, he never lent him but two books: for he had but few in his poſſeſſion; the whole being contained in a glaſs caſe, which he kept for his private amuſement. The two books alluded to were Martin's philoſophical grammar; and one volume of Martin's Philoſophy. The latter, he thinks, was borrowed merely for the copy of verſes, which are prefixed to it. He ſaid, that he had heard Chatterton ſpeak of Rowley; but not often: that he had heard him read Milton,

and Thomſon: but he ſeemed more fond of his own verſes: and theſe turned chiefly upon ſatire. He concluded with ſaying, that, in reſpect to the poems of Rowley, the boy had not abilities for ſuch a performance. *Sir*, ſays he, *take my word for it, they were no more his compoſition than mine.* It may be proper to obſerve, that Chatterton was certainly diſtreſſed for information: and as he failed in his expectations from Skinner and the Saxon dictionary, his chief reſources were Kerſey, and the gloſſary to Speght's Chaucer. The very copy, of which he made uſe, with notes in his own hand writing, is now in the poſſeſſion of my friend Dr. Glynn.

It is remarkable, that in the courſe of the evidence afforded by Mr. Smith, there is mention made of Redcliffe church ſpire being burnt by lightning. But how could either Mr. Smith or Chatterton have been apprized of this; as there was no hiſtory, nor any known record, concerning ſuch an event? It is true, that ſince the death of the latter, there has been a publication by Mr. Naſmith, of William of Worceſtre. This came out in the year 1778: and we find the fact there mentioned. Latitudo (lege Altitudo) Turris de Radclyfe continet 300 pedes: de quibus 100 pedes, ſunt per fulmen dejecti. p. 120. As the

the only hiſtory, in which this is mentioned, came out after the death of Chatterton, he could not have his intelligence from hence; but it muſt have come from one of the manuſcripts of Rowley.

OBJECTIONS conſidered.

It has been looked upon as a ſtrong objection, that this William of Worceſtre, who writes ſo particularly about Briſtol, never once takes notice of Rowley. I can only return for anſwer, what I have ſaid before; that Leland, a far more curious obſerver, takes no notice of Canynge. He gives an ample deſcription of Briſtol, and celebrates the very church of Redcliffe: yet ſays not a word of the conſtructor of the church, nor of the benefactor of the place. In his treatiſe de Scriptoribus Britannicis, he mentions neither Lydgate nor Occleve. Why then ſhould we think it ſo ſtrange, that any writer ſhould omit Rowley? Yet from hence ſome have been led to think, that no ſuch perſon exiſted: that the name itſelf was fictitious, and introduced merely to deceive the world. But we have indiſputable evidence in favour of this perſon: which evidence has been obtained from the biſhop's regiſter at Wells; in which dioceſe Briſtol was of old included.

It is there recorded, that Thomas Rowley took his firſt orders of Acolyth in the year 1439. It is likewiſe paſt contradiction manifeſt, that, about the time of Canynge, the family of the Rowleys made a conſiderable figure in Briſtol. This is proved from the original ledger book of St. Ewin's: for which, and much other ſatisfactory evidence, I am greatly obliged to Mr. George Catcott. From this ledger it is plain, that the Rowleys were inhabitants of that pariſh: and that one William Rowley, a merchant, together with John Perſyns, ſerved the office of procurator of St. Ewin's in the 17th year of king Edward the Fourth; and that he was a benefactor to the place. Concerning him and his benefactions, the following extracts have been made by Mr. G. Catcott from that book, p. 2d.

April 16, 1450. Item, one maſſe boke of the gefte of W. Rowley, merchant; whych begynneth wyth the collic, that ys to ſaie, Deus qui beatum, &c. before the kalendar: and after the kalendar, exorcizo te, creatura ſalis, &c. and endeth, Chriſtus et agnus, &c.

The ſame William is alſo mentioned, among other benefactors, for a new ſuit of veſtments to St. Ewin's church, in the 14th of king Edward the Fourth, p. 75.

Item,

Item, of William Rowley, 20*d.* - 1 : 8
Imprimis, of William Rowley, for
his ſeage in the church - - 1 : 0
Item, of William Rowley, for the
making of the pax - - - 3 : 4

Upon the floor in the chancel of St. John's church are the effigies of two perſons in braſs, very perfect, and repreſenting a man and his wife; with the following inſcription, which is ſtill legible:

Hic jacet Thomas Rowley, Mercator, et Vicecomes hujus Villæ Briſtol: qui quidem Thomas obijt xxiii die menſis Januarii, anno Domini, 1478; et Margarita Uxor ejus, quæ obijt **** menſis Martii, anno Domini 1470: quorum animabus propitietur Deus. Amen. His label has theſe words: Sancta Maria, ora pro nobis. Her label has, Sancta Trinitas, unus Deus, miſerere nobis. The perſons above lived in the time of Thomas Rowley, the friend of Canynge: and we may infer, that they were his relations.

An INFERENCE of conſequence.

I cannot help taking farther notice of the burning of Redcliffe ſpire; as I think, it may be attended with ſome information of

conſequence. It will ſatisfactorily prove, if I miſtake not, from whom, and from whom only, the young man got his intelligence. It is to be obſerved, that William of Worceſtre viſited at different times ſeveral parts of England: and he has generally put down the particular years of thoſe viſitations. The lateſt date to be found in his book is 1480. Among the more early he has marked one; at which time he left Briſtol to go to St. Michael's Mount in Cornwall; which was in the year 1478. From hence I am led to ſuppoſe, that his account of Briſtol, and particularly of Redcliffe church, was in this year, or not long before it. The event may have been ſomewhat prior. Now it is well known, that the celebrated Mr. Canynge died in the * year 1474: between which and the account given by William of Worceſtre there is an interval of only four years inclusive. If then the accident did not happen in that ſpace, it muſt have fallen out antecedently, in the very life-time of Canynge. We may be pretty certain, that it happened in the time of his friend Rowley. He intimates in his life of Canynge, that he ſur-

* He died that year, upon the 7th of November, as appears from the inſcription upon his monument in the ſouth iſle of St. Mary Redcliffe church.

vived

vived that good man; and mentions his experiencing the effects of age: that growing more and more infirm, he changed his ſituation for the ſake of his health and convenience. From hence we may conclude, that he was ſixty years old. Now it is manifeſt from the regiſter of Wells, that he was made Acolyth in the year 1439: and we know, that this office, when regularly taken, was conferred upon very young perſons. For this we have the authority of Heſychius. Ακολυθος, ὁ νεωτερος, παις. The author does not ſay, νεος, but νεωτερος: by which muſt be ſignified a boy, or a very young lad. The nature of the office may be known from Du Cange. Acolutus, Acoluthus, proximus hypodiacono gradus.—Sunt enim (Acolythi) veluti famuli Eccleſiaſtici, ut pote qui vilioribus Eccleſiæ miniſteriis deputantur, ut cereis deferendis, &c. Others make it the loweſt and earlieſt of the four inferior orders: and the buſineſs, in which they were employed, was to take care of the ſacred utenſils, to light the candles, and to do the duty of a ſervitor in reſpect to the church apparatus. If then we ſuppoſe Rowley to have been fifteen, when he was admitted Acolyth in the year 1439, he muſt have been born in 1424: and if he lived to be ſixty, he was alive in the year 1484; which was ſix years after the account given

given by William of Worceſtre. Or if we ſuppoſe him to have been twenty, when he was made Acolyth, he will then have been ſixty in 1479: ſo that at all rates he muſt have been acquainted with the accident of the ſpire.

As William of Worceſtre may poſſibly have written either in the year 1479, or 1480, which is later than the time which I have ſuppoſed; it may be proper, in order to obviate all ſcruples and difficulties, to determine the very year; that the inferences thence drawn may be well founded. Though his account is deſultory, and his hiſtories mixed; yet ſome degree of method may at times be found. He tells us, p. 89, that he ſat out upon a journey from Briſtol to Cornwall in the year 1478. Viagium de * Briſtolio, &c. He gives an account of the ſame journey more at large, p. 142: which he began at † Norwich, and from thence went to Briſtol,

* This is the title to the deſcription given of his journey; but it is ſeparated, and the diary interrupted, by the hiſtory of perſons deceaſed, and by the dates of events, that occurred in the monaſteries, which he viſited in his way. The manuſcript of the Itinerary ſeems to have been compiled from the author's looſe papers, and is in many places confuſed; but may be eaſily made out.

† Die Lunæ 17 Auguſti incepi viagium de Norwico uſque Myghell-mont in Cornubiâ. Mem. The 17th of Auguſt fell upon a Monday in the year 1478.

which

which he reached on *Tueſday*, the firſt of September. He left this place on *Wedneſday* the ninth of September; and on *Thurſday* the 17th of September he heard maſs in the Mount of St. Michael. From thence he returned, and was again at Briſtol upon *Tueſday*, the feaſt of St. Michael, the 29th of the ſame month, p. 146. Now his deſcription of Redcliffe tower, and the account of the ſpire, is antecedent to his journey to Cornwall; and is accordingly mentioned, p. 120. And that the journey to Cornwall was in the year 1478, is plain to a demonſtration by the days of the week ſpecified. For the firſt of September, when he mentions his reaching Briſtol, was that year a *Tueſday*: and cannot be made to agree with the years, which immediately followed. Alſo the 17th of September, upon which day he got to St. Michael's Mount, was a *Thurſday*, as he has deſcribed it. And the 29th of September, or Michaelmas, when he returned, was that year a *Tueſday*. For the Sunday letter for 1478 was D; by which teſt all the days ſpecified may be * tried, and confirmed. He

* After his return to Briſtol from Cornwall, he mentions obſervations which he made, concerning the iſlands in and near the Severn: which he ſays was in the year ſpecified above, 1478, primo die Octobris. Memorandum de inſulis aquæ de Severn, p. 154.

concludes

concludes his journal by ſaying, Mercurii, 7 die (Octobris) per Alton, per caſtrum Fernham, Gylford, Kyngyſton, etc. uſque London. Theſe data accord with thoſe above. The ſeventh of October was dies Mercurii, or *Wedneſday*, in the year 1478; and not in the two ſubſequent years. Hence it is manifeſt, that the caſualty, which is mentioned of the ſpire, muſt have been before this term: conſequently Rowley muſt have been acquainted with it; and we cannot well ſuppoſe, but that it was recorded by him. And as there are no other means, which can with any ſhew of reaſon be deviſed for Chatterton to have arrived at this knowledge, we may preſume, that he had it from the Redcliffe manuſcripts. If we conſider all the circumſtances, with which this enquiry has been attended, we may be morally certain, that it was from Rowley, and from him only, that this intelligence could be derived. At the ſame time it gives great weight to the teſtimony of Mr. Smith: and ſhews that the account he gave, was founded in truth. This incidental piece of intelligence is ſimilar to that concerning the fine impoſed upon Canynge of 3000 marks; which has been authenticated by the ſame writer, though, I believe, not to be found in any other hiſtory. The knowledge of this muſt

have

have been procured by Chatterton from the ſame reſource as the former; from the Mſſ. of * Rowley. There was no other, from which he could obtain it.

From what has been ſaid, we may perhaps aſſign ſome reaſon, why William of Worceſtre does not make mention of Rowley. It is obſervable, that, unleſs hiſtory demands it, writers do not commonly commemorate perſons before their death. Now we may be morally certain, that Rowley was alive, when William of Worceſtre was at Briſtol; and probably lived ſome years afterwards. He may have ſurvived him; as he appears to have been a younger man than William of Worceſtre, who was born in the year 1415. This may have been the reaſon, why his name does not occur.

I had forgot to mention, that there were two perſons named Rowle and Roly, and each of them Thomas, who are found mentioned in the regiſter of Wells.

* When Redcliffe church was firſt built, Rowley had propheſied, in ſome verſes upon the occaſion, that it would—*deſie*

Fyre-levyn and the mokie ſtorme.

But he certainly lived long enough to find that he was no true prophet; for the church, as we have ſeen, was in his time ſtruck with levyn, or lightning. See Rowley's Poems, p. 276, ver. 6.

Thomas

Thomas Rowle was ordained Acolyth 31ſt May 1439.

Thomas Roly was admitted to the ſame degree 21ſt March 1460. From hence, and from other circumſtances, it appears, that neither the name, nor family, of Rowley, was ſo obſcure, as ſome people have imagined. The firſt of theſe two perſons was undoubtedly the author of the poems. The other was probably a relation.

PRIVATE

PRIVATE EVIDENCE OF THE TRANSCRIBER.

MANY inſtances have been produced of the uniform and publick atteſtation, which Chatterton gave to the poems of Rowley. He afforded ſome of a more private nature; which ſeem to have come from the heart; and were ſubjoined for his own uſe, as notes to ſome of the copies, which he tranſcribed. This was abundantly proved to me by Mr. Barrett, a gentleman of conſummate candour and goodneſs; to whom I am under great obligations for repeated civilities; and ſtill more for ſtore of intelligence, which I could no where elſe have obtained. One of theſe private atteſtations is annexed to

to an account of a manuſcript, ſtiled *The Pattern of St. Luke:* under which Chatterton has ſubjoined this note—*A book frequently quoted by Canynge and Rowley; conſiſting of phyſick and theology.* At the bottom of another treatiſe, where plays and mummeries are mentioned, he has added an obſervation to this purpoſe; that plays in that rude age had acquired a degree of merit far beyond what was generally thought: and then concludes with theſe remarkable words; *as will be ſeen, when I have leiſure to tranſcribe ſome of Rowley's, and one of Stowe's.* In another treatiſe, where it is ſaid, that *the world was created by the Holy Sprite,* there is again a private reference to Rowley. He mentions him likewiſe in ſome ſatirical verſes, prefixed to his counterfeit will: which will and verſes were made at a very ſolemn ſeaſon, when he purpoſed to put an end to his life. They witneſs a ſad deſpondency, and great bitterneſs of heart. In an addreſs to Mr. George Catcott are the following lines; in which he treats him with more lenity, than he ſhews to others: yet they are ſufficiently ſevere.

Catcott, for thee, I know thy heart is good:
But ah! thy merit's little underſtood.
For bigotted to whimſies, which thy youth
Receiv'd to venerate for goſpel truth,

Thy

Thy friendſhip never could be dear to me,
Since all I am is oppoſite to thee.
If ever obligated to thy purſe,
Rowley repays them all, my firſt chief * curſe.

In the annexed will, among other ideal legacies, he bequeaths the following: *I leave to Briſtol all my ſpirit and diſintereſtedneſs, parcels of goods unknown to her key, ſince the days of Canynge and Rowley.* Upon the cover of the book, which contained in his handwriting the will and verſes, was the following memorandum: *All this wrote between eleven and two o'clock, Saturday, in the utmoſt diſtreſs of mind.* By this is meant, between eleven and two at midnight; and, as it elſewhere appears, upon the 14th of April 1770. What he here threatened, but poſtponed, was unfortunately put in execution the Auguſt following, after he had been a few months in town. We may be aſſured, from theſe indirect and repeated appeals to Rowley, that he was eſteemed by Chatterton a real perſon; the ſame, from whoſe writings he copied.

Beſides theſe proofs, Mr. Barrett has ſeveral manuſcripts of indiſputable authority,

* Theſe verſes were compoſed, as will be ſeen, when he was ſeventeen years and five months old; not long before his death. Let them be compared with the poetry, which he produced as Rowley's, when he was a year or two younger.

which have been ſigned by Rowley himſelf. The characters in each inſtance appear to be ſimilar; and the hand-writing the ſame in all. In theſe and in other manuſcripts the poems of Rowley are referred to, and their antiquity ſhewn. To obviate theſe cogent arguments, people have inſiſted, that the young lad forged the whole: and indeed the whole muſt have been in great meaſure his production, if the poems were: there is ſo great a correſpondence between them and the other writings. But this was not poſſible. For what time had this young man for ſo extenſive a fraud? and what inducement to carry it on? The firſt general diſcovery of the Mſſ. being in his poſſeſſion, was at the opening of the bridge at Briſtol in the year 1768, when he was not quite ſixteen years old. Mr. Catcott then became firſt acquainted with him: and he has aſſured me, that he remembers Chatterton's mentioning to him at that time moſt of the poems, which have appeared ſince in print. Some of them he got from him, as has been before ſhewn. The like was told me by Mr. Barrett, in reſpect to himſelf. He aſſured me, that moſt of the Mſſ. in his poſſeſſion were obtained from Chatterton very early, and nearly at the ſame time. I have mentioned, that the general diſcovery of them was in 1768, at the opening

opening of the * bridge: but they were known to his mother and ſiſter before, and to ſome of his friends. They had ſeen them in his poſſeſſion; and heard him read the tranſcripts, which he had made from them. But were it not ſo; who can conceive, that a boy at the age above-mentioned could form ſuch an idle ſcheme of deceiving the whole world; and continue to proſecute it to ſuch a length? Add to this, that the poems and writings unpubliſhed, as far as I could learn, are equal to thoſe, which have been printed; and poſſibly far exceed them. Thoſe too, which were deſtroyed, muſt be taken into the eſtimate: ſo that the amount will be found very great. Yet of theſe the principal and moſt excellent were made known ſoon after the opening of the new bridge, 1ſt October 1768, when he was about ſixteen years old. The compoſition therefore muſt have been much ſooner. From his firſt coming to Mr. Lambert's to this time was but a year and three months. It is ſomewhat ſurprizing, circumſtanced as he was, that he could in that time be able to underſtand the numerous manuſcripts: but that he could execute the whole himſelf is paſt belief. If we ſuppoſe him to have begun at fourteen, there is not

* He was at that time little more than fifteen years and ten months old.

time for the performance: nor even, if we go back to thirteen. But he was at that time, and long after, immured in the blue-coat charity ſchool; and knew nothing more than to read, and to write, and to caſt accounts. Of this we are certified by the maſter, Mr. Haynes, who is now alive. His mother, ſiſter, and all who then knew him, give evidence to the ſame purpoſe.

SOME FARTHER OBJECTIONS ANSWERED.

THE poems of Rowley have ſtood a very ſevere teſt. Every objection, which wit and ingenuity could invent, has been produced againſt them. Hence numberleſs doubts and difficulties have been ſtarted: and a variety of ſuſpicions raiſed, in order to take off from that antiquity, to which they are juſtly entitled. The great ſtumbling-block, and in reality the only one, is the harmony of the verſe, which is imagined to be too good for the age, to which the poems are aſcribed. This opinion is thought to be ſtill ſtrengthened by the modern turn of the language: and in ſupport of theſe notions all other objections have been framed. But I have ſhewn, that this argument is fallacious: and that the ſame objections might be made to the Crede of Pierce

Plowman, or the ſtory of William Wallace; the former of which was a century prior, and the latter of the ſame æra. As a proof of this, let the reader turn back to thoſe lines, which I have quoted from theſe poems; and particularly to the paſſages from the latter, p. 433. Make a ſmall change in the * dialect; and the verſes will be found as good, and the language as modern, as that which is at this day in uſe. Beſides, there are at all times perſons, who ſtand forth beyond their compeers: and Rowley was one of theſe. And as to the harmony of his verſe, it is not univerſal; nor is that modern appearance to be found every where. On the contrary, though there may be oftentimes ſome brilliant lines; yet the verſe in general wants that equability, which prevails in more mo-

* I have ſaid a great deal concerning the dialects obſervable in ancient writers of this iſland. The like notice is taken by the learned Dr. Percy, the preſent dean of Carliſle. This may be ſeen more than once in thoſe obſervations, with which he has enriched that curious collection of old poetry, by him collected and publiſhed. He alſo obſerves very truly, how very equably and ſmoothly they wrote in one age, and how they degenerated in another: and of this he affords many inſtances. From hence is very ſatisfactorily ſhewn, that the rhythm and ſtyle of a poem will not always lead us to the time of its compoſition. See vol. ii. p. 7, p. 28, p. 68, p. 138, and p. 279, concerning Rob. of Glouceſter, and his dialect.

dern

dern compoſitions: and there are in the language ſtrong marks of antiquity; as may be proved by the gloſſary, which is manifeſtly very copious. Indeed, in ſome places the language ſeems more obſolete, than could be expected for the time of king Edward the Fourth: and the reaſon is, that ſome of the poems, however new modelled, were prior to that æra. For Rowley himſelf tells us, that he borrowed from Turgott: and we have reaſon to think, that he likewiſe copied from * Chedder. Theſe objections therefore are founded on prejudice; which by collating and comparing may be eaſily removed.

OBJECTIONS to the Manuſcripts conſidered.

But it is ſaid, that the manuſcripts, from whence the poems were tranſcribed, as well as thoſe, with which they were accompanied, were not in the hand-writing of the fifteenth century. This does not ſeem to be a juſt objection: for what criterion is there, by which we can certainly determine about the common hand-writing of people at any time,

* A poet mentioned in the Mſſ. who is ſuppoſed to have flouriſhed about the year 1330. He is ſaid to have had ſome *maumeries* at the *comitating* the city.

in the ſame country? The writings of great clerks, and lawyers, by which property is conveyed, and in which the publick regiſters and records are preſerved, may be ſimilar, and perhaps uniform, in any particular age. But the hand-writing of individuals will always be vague, and uncertain: nor was there ever a ſtandard, by which it could be at any time determined. Let a perſon conſult the general poſt-office, where there are every week, and, I believe, every day, letters rejected: ſome written by foreigners in bad Engliſh; others by natives in worſe; and both in characters not to be deciphered. Let him, I ſay, look at theſe; and ſee, if they might not be adjudged to any age. Or if this may not appear concluſive, let us have recourſe to the hand-writing and names of thoſe perſons, who ſat in judgment upon king Charles the Firſt: which have been taken from the repoſitory of curious manuſcripts in the poſſeſſion of Mr. Aſtle, and very faithfully engraved. If a perſon, who knew nothing concerning the hiſtory of the liſt, were directed to many names in it for his judgment, he would be at a loſs, to what age he ſhould determine them; whether to this, or to the laſt; or to either of the two preceding. The ſame learned gentleman has afforded us ſpecimens of hand-writing by

ſome

ſome of the kings of England; which like the former have been engraved with great care. In one ſheet are the ſignatures of princes from James the Firſt downwards to king George the Second, incluſive. But did we not know the hiſtory of the perſons referred to, we ſhould never from the characters find out, when they wrote. And though between the firſt year of king James, and the laſt of king George, there was an interval of little leſs than an hundred and ſixty years, yet nobody from the mode of writing would judge, which had the priority. In another ſheet are the names of princes, who were of a more early date. But all, that can from hence be learned, is, that the more early they lived, the worſe they wrote. Among the ſeveral ſignatures exhibited, there is one of Margaret of Anjou, wife of king Henry the Sixth; which like many others affords little indication of its age. It would puzzle the moſt knowing antiquary to find out by the characters the time, in which it was written. It might be adjudged to any æra; alſo to any language or country. Some poſſibly might eſteem it of no language; as it ſcarcely diſcovers one of thoſe elementary characters, of which the name properly conſiſts. I am therefore convinced, that there can be no certain criterion concerning the common writing

writing of any period. When we ſee any mixture of Saxon letters; and when particular abbreviations and coalitions are to be found; the manuſcripts may be aſcribed to an indeterminate antiquity. But the common writing of individuals will be ſtill more indeterminate: and if any judgment be formed from a compariſon with the ſtated and official hands in vogue, we may be very wide of the truth. It has been likewiſe mentioned to me, by way of objection, that one of theſe parchments had been ſtained with yellow ochre. I have enquired of Mr. Barrett, who does not remember any particular ſtain: but if it were as repreſented, I do not ſee the inference. Yes, it is ſaid; we may from hence perceive, that it was a forgery; and that it was marked with yellow, to give it a more antique caſt. Now I do not ſee, why marking it with yellow will give it a more ancient appearance, than ſtaining it with red or brown; or ſoiling it with duſt. In ſhort, Chatterton was ſo far from forging the manuſcripts, that he often could not read them. Of this I have given ſome examples; and ſhall hereafter produce more.

Concerning

Concerning ſome of the original Manuſcripts.

Mr. Barrett, who readily afforded me all the information in his power, ſhewed me many of the original manuſcripts, which by his care had been preſerved. Among theſe he mentioned the Song to Ælla, which was the firſt ſpecimen, which he obtained. The Song was firſt given to him in Chatterton's hand-writing, about the latter end of the year 1768. Upon his enquiring of him concerning the original, he had that too brought the very next morning. It appeared ſoiled and rumpled; and had every mark of antiquity. The ſame is to be obſerved in all the parchments, which were given to him. The letters were in moſt faint, and the ink faded; and the manuſcripts in many places not legible. But as Mr. Barrett at this time fortunately attended upon Lord Litchfield, who was come to Briſtol for his health; he was adviſed by him to make an application of galls, in order to recover the ink, which was thus faded. He accordingly made the experiment; and it ſucceeded very well. By theſe means the characters were in great meaſure reſtored; and the parchments rendered legible.

legible. But I would here aſk, if we ſuppoſe Chatterton to have gone on in a ſeries of forgery; how he could give to the Mſſ. theſe marks of antiquity, which they manifeſtly bear? They might be eaſily rumpled and ſoiled: but how could he render the ink of that faint and gray appearance; and make the characters ſo uniformly obſcure? In ſhort, how could he give thoſe marks of antiquity? that wear and tear, if I may ſo expreſs myſelf; and all thoſe injuries and imperfections, which are the conſequence of age? What time does imperceptibly and by degrees, cannot be brought about at once. It is not a day, nor a year, that can produce theſe alterations. Beſides, if the whole were a fraud, it was not carried on at one time only, nor in one inſtance; but in many. The life therefore of the young man would not have ſufficed for the execution. Many of theſe Mſſ. I have ſeen: and they bear indiſputable marks of antiquity: ſuch as could not be counterfeited under a long ſpace of time: and even then they would be liable to detection. And, after all, *cui bono?* what emolument was obtained, or even aimed at, by the young lad, from this ſuppoſed forgery; from this long ſeries of miſapplied induſtry? He does not ſeem to have purpoſed any advantage: nor could any good have ariſen from

from this fraud, but what might with more eaſe have been obtained in a fair * way.

Concerning the abilities of CHATTERTON, and the reſources, to which he applied.

But after all, he had neither parts nor learning adequate to ſuch performances. To this all, who knew him, bear witneſs. Many of them are greatly prejudiced in his favour: yet, when the queſtion is put about his literary attainments, they confeſs that he was wanting; and had not the leaſt inſight into the learned languages, through which true knowledge is conveyed. It may be ſaid, that ſome of theſe perſons were of no rank in life; nor had themſelves any pretenſions to ſcience. Suppoſe it to be ſo: yet they were people of ſenſe and probity: and it requires no length of line to plumb, when the ſtream is not out of one's depth. They might not be able to comprehend the genius of a Boyle or a Newton: yet we may ſuppoſe them to be judges of the abilities of a charity boy; of one, who was upon the ſame level, as themſelves, or perhaps inferior. We may

* The ſame may be ſaid of any perſon ſubſtituted in his room.

allow

allow a perſon to meaſure an object of his own height; though he may not know the altitude of the ſun, nor the diſtance of a fixed ſtar. And I cannot conceive, why a perſon's evidence, which would be thought good in a caſe of property, and even upon life and death, may not be admitted to determine a poem. But all, to whom I applied, were very reſpectable perſons. Beſides others, there is Mr. Barrett, a gentleman of reading and judgment, who was perfectly well acquainted with the extent of Chatterton's powers: and he has repeatedly told me, that they were by no means * ſhining. The maſter of the ſchool, Mr. Haynes, to whoſe care he was committed, is ſtill alive; and affords, as I am aſſured, the ſame evidence. He ſays, that he was not a boy of extraordinary parts: nor did he make any diſplay of abilities, during the time, that he was at ſchool; which was till he had compleated fourteen years and an half. But the beſt proof is from his own performances; eſpecially from thoſe, which he compoſed

* In the ſatire, with which his laſt will is accompanied, he ſeems to own, that, what learning he had obtained, was by the means of Mr. Barrett.

To Barrett next: he has my thanks ſincere,
For all the little knowledge I had here:
But what was knowledge? how could it ſucceed,
When hardly twenty in the town could read?

the

the lateſt. Some of them are very low and abject: and the beſt do not riſe above mediocrity.

What his learning was, may be farther ſeen from the expedients, of which he made uſe, in order to get inſtruction. As he had engaged himſelf in copying ancient manuſcripts; we have ſeen, that he took the firſt opportunity of borrowing Skinner's Etymologicum, and a Saxon dictionary. But as theſe did not anſwer his purpoſe, he got Speght's Chaucer for the ſake of the gloſſary, and Kerſey's dictionary. In the latter of theſe he uſed to hunt in a moſt ſervile manner. This may be perceived in a ſtrange bombaſt letter to his friend Smith, which he wrote about a fortnight before he died. It conſiſts of many high-ſounding and uncommon terms; borrowed from the Greek, and relating chiefly to different ſorts of poetry. Theſe are all to be found in Kerſey, and, I believe, in no other Engliſh dictionary. That he had them from this ſource, is certain from his copying the very errors of the author; ſuch as *Ogdaſtick*, for *Ogdoaſtick*, a miſtake, which occurs in * Kerſey: alſo *Cephalophonia* for the *head-ach*, inſtead of *Cephaloponia*;

* Ogdaſtick, an epigram conſiſting of eight verſes. Kerſey.

which

which is to be found in the ſame * author. In like manner he has *cheriſaunei* for *cheriſaunce*, borrowed in the ſame † manner. This gives room to ſuſpect, that he ſometimes altered the originals, which he had before him, upon the authority of theſe etymologiſts.

From theſe expedients, of which he made uſe to gain information, we may perceive the ſmall extent both of his learning, and judgment. It may be farther ſeen in the account, given of him even by his moſt ſanguine friends. For when they ſpeak of him as a prodigy, they found their notion chiefly upon thoſe ſing-ſong compoſitions in verſe, which he wrote to ſome young women at Briſtol, and to other friends; and which may be looked upon as very tolerable for a perſon ſo young. But theſe perſons never give the leaſt hint about any hiſtorical knowledge; nor mention any writer of conſequence, which he had read. The ſame is manifeſt from the books, which he borrowed. Many of them were, as I have ſhewn, dictionaries and gloſſaries; and ſuch, as afforded a compendious rout towards a little ſuperficial knowledge.

* Cephalophonia, a pain in the head. Kerſey.

† Cheriſaunei, (O) *comfort*. Kerſey. Concerning this word, and the alteration in conſequence of it, ſee p. 106, of this Treatiſe.

His

His other reading ſeems to have been expended in magazines and miſcellanies: and he was converſant in Milton, Shakeſpear, and Thomſon. Beyond theſe he does not ſeem to have aſpired. That this was the caſe, we may be aſſured from the perſons, to whom he applied; Mr. Barrett, Green, Clayfield, and others, ſtill living. But the author of theſe poems and manuſcripts muſt have been a perſon of much reading: one, who was converſant both in ancient and modern literature. This is manifeſt from the frequent alluſions to ancient ceremonies and cuſtoms; and from the references to Greek and Roman authors: alſo from a number of words borrowed from the old French, Saxon, and Scottiſh languages. In the ſermon upon the *Holy Sprite*, there is a quotation from Cyprian; and another from the Greek of Gregory * Nazianzen: and in the ſtory of John † Lamington are many Latin quotations. None

* The paſſage is as follows; Γεννᾶται Χριϛὸς; προτρέχει. Βαπτίζεται; μαρτυρεῖ. Πειράζεται; ανάγει. Δυνάμεις επιτελεῖ; συνπαρομαρτεῖ. Ανέρχεται; διαδέχεται. Greg. Nazian. Orat. 37, p. 610. Edit. Paris. This laſt word ſeems to have been effaced in the original manuſcript. In the room of which, the word κατεξχεται has been ſubſtituted in ſome copies.

† A play or interlude of John Iſcham, ſtiled *The merrie tricks of Laymyngetonne*. The quotations here are introduced

None of theſe were obvious, and ſuch as a boy could attain to. Nor are they idly and oſtentatiouſly introduced: they are all pertinent, and well adapted. In reſpect to the ſermon upon the *Holy Sprite*, the very texture of it ſhews, that it was the compoſition of a perſon verſed in divinity. Hence ſome have thought, that Chatterton accidentally lit upon an old ſermon; and put it off for Rowley's. But if we allow him to have met with ſuch an ancient compoſition, what inducement could he have to aſcribe it to a wrong author? Conſequently, can any reaſon be alledged, why we ſhould not give it to the perſon ſpecified? It is ſaid, that the hiſtory of Rowley is obſcure, and but lately made known. But what do we get by having recourſe to a perſon ſtill more in the dark; and whoſe hiſtory is not at all known?

Concerning his MISCONCEPTIONS.

I have mentioned, and have endeavoured to ſhew, that Chatterton many times did not

introduced in a ludicrous manner, being put in the mouth of a pedantick merchant of Briſtol. Among the proſe Mſſ. of Rowley, mention is made of a church being founded by Lamyngton, who had been a terrible freebooter and pirate in the time of king Henry the Sixth; and was obliged to execute a work of this nature, to obtain his pardon.

underſtand

underſtand the poems, which he preſumed to interpret: and it is farther to be obſerved, that there was often a material variation between the copy and the original; which never could have happened, if he had been the author of both. He muſt have known his own writing; and would not have deviated from his own purpoſe. It is wonderful, that this inference has not been made before: for to me it amounts to a certainty, that he had ancient manuſcripts, which he imperfectly copied. Thus in the ſong to Ælla, which was given to Mr. Barrett in Chatterton's hand-writing, two lines are found to be expreſſed in the following manner:

> Orr ſeeſt the hatchedd ſtedè
> *Ifrayninge* o'er the mede.

But when the original parchment, which was brought the next day, had been cleaned and examined more accurately, the true reading was found to be, not *ifrayninge*, but *ypraun-cynge:* which makes, in reſpect to ſenſe, a material difference.

> Orr ſeeſt the hatchedd ſtede
> *Ypraauncynge* o'er the mede.

I have mentioned, that Mr. Barrett made uſe of galls to fetch out the faded characters; which ſucceeded well. Hence many of Chat-

terton's readings were found to be erroneous: and it was plain, that, from the letters being nearly effaced, he had often miſtaken the original terms, and ſubſtituted one word for another. Thus, in the poem to Lydgate, inſtead of

I and thee, — he read *thou and I.*
Inſtead of *goe*, — *bee.*
Inſtead of *wryte*, — *fyghte.*

The ſong to Ælla is upon parchment, and written like proſe, without any breaks or diviſions. This was of old uſual, in order to ſave expence, by crouding as much as could be brought together within a ſmall compaſs: becauſe materials for writing were * dear. In this ſong many of the variations between the copy and original are remarkable. Some of theſe I will mention, as they have been previouſly noticed by Mr. Tyrwhitt. Towards

* There was no paper manufactured in England till about the year 1493, or 4; when it was introduced by John Tate. The firſt book printed upon this paper was Bartholomæus de proprietatibus rerum, by Wynkyn de Worde, about 1494.

John Tate the yonger joye mote he broke,
Whiche late hathe in Englond doo make this paper thynne
That now in our Engliſh this boke is prynted Inne.
See Prohemium Bartholomei de proprietatibus rerum.

the

the end of the ſecond ſtanza, Ælla is repreſented as ſpreading deſtruction far and near, upon the ſhore of Watchet: and in the copy of Chatterton, the poet ſays of his hero,

Then dyddſt thou furiouſe ſtande,
And bie thie *valyante hande*
Beeſprengedd all the mees wyth gore.

But upon examining the original, the true reading was found to be

And bie thie *burlie* hande.

And even this I ſuſpect to be a miſtake for *burlie brand*. In the ſame poem Chatterton's copy has

dyſmall — for *honore*,
braſtynge — for *burſtynge*.

In the Anſwer of Lydgate, he has

varſes — for *pene*, or *pen*,
ſendes — for *lendes*,
lyne — — for *thynge*.

In another copy of the ſong to Ælla, he has

doe — — for *goe*,
fyghte — for *wryte*,
whoſe hayres - for *whoſe lockes*,
glare — — for *gloue*, *i. e. glow*.
kenneſt — for *heareſt*.

The like miſtakes are often to be diſcovered

from the context in copies, of which there is no original preſerved. For the true reading appears from the plain purport of the lines, as Mr. Tyrwhitt has with much judgment * ſhewn. Of this he affords ſeveral inſtances in the errata, which are annexed to his edition of Rowley; where Chatterton has miſtaken

victuals	—	for *victims*,
fears —	—	for *tears*,
toe —	—	for *doe*,
ſtorven	—	for *ſtroven*,
ſythe —	—	for *ſyke*,
bie thanks	—	for *mie thanks*.

Can theſe be the miſtakes of an author? Certainly not. We may perceive, that he could not always read the characters of the Mſſ. and accordingly, when he was at a loſs, ſupplied arbitrarily, what was wanting; forming his conjectures from the context. And in doing this he changed the mode of ſpelling, in order to give his variations an air of antiquity. But when the original parchment was either cleaned, or more carefully examined, then theſe aberrations were diſcovered; and the true reading reſtored.

* See Mr. Tyrwhitt's Introduction to Rowley; to which I have been obliged for much curious intelligence. See p. xv. and xvi.

It moreover fortunately happened, that not only theſe miſtakes were detected; but on the other hand ſeveral truths have been authenticated, which before appeared doubtful. Thus in one treatiſe copied by Chatterton, the celebrated Canynge is mentioned as a * ſecond ſon. But we have no voucher for this in any hiſtory: and it would appear a mere boyiſh and groundleſs fancy, were it not for another manuſcript in Mr. Barrett's poſſeſſion, by the authority of which it is proved. But this manuſcript was utterly unknown to Chatterton. It was indeed obtained with ſome others from Redcliffe church; but from a different part of it: and taken away, if I miſtake not, by a perſon before Chatterton was born. It is therefore impoſſible, that this young lad could have uttered theſe circumſtances at random; and then had theſe after-evidences in his favour. He muſt have had an original manuſcript before him, from whence theſe matters of fact were borrowed; a manuſcript of the

* It is in an account, which was prefixed as a title to the Storie of Wylliam Canynge, and is to be found in Mr. Barrett's copy, given him by Chatterton. *Wyllyam Canynge was borne ſeconde ſonne of Johne, ſonne of Wyllyam, ſonne of Roberte Canynge; all of Seyncte Marie Redcliffte Hee was relatedd toe Gurneies, Nevylles, Monteacutes, and otherr gentle houſes, &c.*

ſame date, and by the ſame hand, as that extant now, by which the fact is proved.

As I have more than once ſpoken of Mr. Barrett, and my obligations to him; it may be proper to appriſe the learned world, that he has now made a great progreſs in his Hiſtory of Briſtol; which, in conſequence of it, I hope will ſoon appear in print. It will afford to the antiquary, and to every favourer of learning, much curious and recondite intelligence. In this work will be found many evidences in favour of Rowley's poems; and there will be inſerted copies of ſeveral manuſcripts ſtill extant, which were written by Rowley himſelf; and are ſubſcribed with his name in his own hand-writing. One in particular is ſtiled *the Purple Roll*, and conſiſts of two parts. The firſt is in the writing of Chatterton, the original being loſt. The ſecond is upon parchment, and indiſputably ancient. It is made up of different ſubjects: for I have before obſerved, that people were obliged to crowd together many articles within the ſame limits, on account of the dearneſs both of parchment and paper. It contains an account of coining: and there is alſo ſome hiſtory given of Ælla, and of his fight with the Danes; in which, contrary to the poet's narrative in the play, he is ſaid to have

have died of his wounds. It alſo makes mention of Turgott; and affords great illuſtration to ſeveral things alluded to in the poem ſtiled the Battle of Haſtings, for which before I could not well account. It is ſhewn, that he was connected with Briſtol: and he may poſſibly have come from it; for we have no light from hiſtory to determine, where he was born. If any faith may be repoſed in the manuſcripts of Rowley, and I hope by this time they have merited ſome credit, we find in the account of the * *Carvellers*, that Turgott was aſſuredly of this place. *Turgotte borne of Saxonne Parents ynn Briſtowe Towne, and a monke of the Chyrche of* † *Dumeſne. Hee was ſkylled ynn tonges, and wrytten meynte Rolles, as yee maie ſee ynn mie yellowe Rolle. Hee dydd deceaſe ynn* MXCVII, *beynge buryed ynn* ‡ *Durham Chyrche.* There is alſo in the ſame manuſcript an account given of Afflem, whoſe name is mentioned in the Battle of § Haſtings. *Afflem a monke of Seyncte Cuthberte wythe beforeſayde Turgotte, Briſtowe borne, a moſte ſkyllfulle peyncteoure,*

* A manuſcript in the hands of Mr. Barrett.

† The true reading is undoubtedly Dureſme.

‡ So expreſſed in the manuſcript lent me by Mr. George Catcott: but I ſhould imagine that the original, like that above, was Dureſme.

§ Page 213, ver. 61.

and

and poett. Whenne he dyedd ys uncouthe. The time of Turgott's death does not agree with that given by Simeon of Durham. The figures may poſſibly have been tranſpoſed and altered. For MXCVII, we ſhould read MCXV: for this was the true year of his deceaſe. The account of his birth-place accords in ſome ſmall degree with that given by the above-mentioned Simeon, who ſays, that he came * *a remotis Angliæ partibus.* This relation to Briſtol might be the reaſon of his ſo readily joining himſelf in the north to the monks Aldwin and Reinfrid; who came nearly from the † ſame part of the kingdom. His connexion with Briſtol affords alſo a reaſon, why the people of that place are ſpoken of with ſo much ‡ honour: and for the references to the Severn and the Hygra; which I once thought might have been additions by Rowley. It likewiſe affords farther authority, and in ſome degree a

* P. 206.

† They came from the monaſtery of Winchelcomb, in Glouceſterſhire.

‡ It is remarkable, that the reverſe of this is obſervable in the writings of Chatterton: for they in general contain a ſatire upon Briſtol and its inhabitants: not a line is to be found in their favour. The two other writers are always zealous in their praiſes both of the place and people. This is a circumſtance, which deſerves our attention.

proof,

proof, that the poem called the Battle of Haſtings was originally written by Turgott; which is by Rowley intimated more than once. Laſtly, it accounts for the title aſſumed by Chatterton of *Dunelmenſis Briſtolienſis*; which he would never have taken, had it not been for a prior ſignature of Turgott of Dunhelm, which he had ſeen upon a manuſcript.

RECA-

RECAPITULATION.

IF we conſider all, that has been ſaid, we ſhall find, that there has been full evidence afforded to the following facts. Firſt, that Mr. William Canynge, by the aſſiſtance of his friend and confeſſor Thomas Rowley, did make a valuable collection of writings. That they were depoſited in a large cheſt in a room over the north porch in St. Mary Redcliffe at Briſtol. That he took the utmoſt care for the preſervation of this valuable depoſit, by having ſix keys to the cheſt, and as many truſtees, who were to perform an annual viſitation. Of Rowley, whoſe exiſtence was doubted, there has been afforded ſufficient teſtimony from the regiſter of Wells: and it has been farther ſhewn from the ledger of St. Ewin's, that in his time, there were at Briſtol ſeveral reſpectable perſons

ſons of that name; and, as we may reaſonably infer, of his family. It has been ſhewn, that the writings thus laid up, were preſerved very ſafely, till the year 1727: at which time the cheſt was broken open; and part of the parchments carried to another room. That the remainder lay expoſed, and was carried away by different perſons. That Chatterton's father had a large ſhare; of which a great deal was by him miſapplied and ruined. What was left at his death his widow put into a box, and upon her removal carried to her own houſe. That this box was ſome years afterwards diſcovered by her ſon, when he was about fifteen years old; and that he at times carried off the writings, which he ſtudied and copied at his maſter's office. Mention has been made of his joy, when he found out their value: of his extaſy in ſpeaking of them, and when he read them to his friends: of his indignation at their being diſregarded; which he ſometimes expreſſed in very opprobrious terms. It has been proved, that he never took the merit of them to himſelf; but always uniformly ſpoke of them as Rowley's. For this we have the evidence of his mother and ſiſter, and every one of his moſt intimate friends. Perſons have been applied to, who ſaw the originals: who ſaw him with the parchments

ments in his hand; who heard him read from them; and were preſent at the time he was copying. Several of the originals are ſtill in the hands of Mr. Barrett. I have ſhewn his ſmall pretenſions to learning, from his firſt companions; from thoſe, who knew him afterwards; from the maſter, who taught him: and laſtly, from his own teſtimony; from the writings under his own ſignature, the ſtrongeſt evidence of all. That he had originals before him, is plain from the helps, to which he applied, to get information. Theſe were Skinner, Kerſey, the ſmall Saxon dictionary, and Chaucer with the gloſſary. Theſe he obtained, when he had been in poſſeſſion of the manuſcripts above a year and an half: ſo that at that ſeaſon, though he had copied many of them, he was not perfectly maſter of the language. Indeed, he never attained to it. And to this were owing the falſe gloſſes and deviations, of which a real author could not have been guilty. Indeed, nothing can be more inconſiſtent, than to ſuppoſe him the author: for it is plain, if he compoſed the poems, that he did not know his own meaning: if he penned the originals, he could not read his own writing; but was obliged to others to find out his purpoſe. This induces me to dwell a little longer upon the books, which he borrowed; as the inference,

ference, which naturally reſults from that circumſtance, ſeems to be of conſequence. They were obtained partly from Mr. Barrett; and partly from Mr. Green's circulating library; after he had given to Mr. Catcott and Mr. Barrett many copies of the poems, and ſpoken of others, as being in his poſſeſſion. This ſhews, that they were not of his own compoſition. For who ever conſtructed a poem, and then a year or two afterwards turned to a dictionary to underſtand it? It may be ſaid, that he had recourſe to theſe helps, in order to form a gloſſary. But if he had compoſed the verſes, ſurely he could have made a gloſſary, without the help of either Kerſey, or Skinner: otherwiſe, as I have urged before, he muſt have written, what he did not underſtand: and that ſuch fine poetry was the reſult of ignorance, is not to be believed. That the world aroſe from chaos, I can eaſily imagine: becauſe it was by means of a divine hand. But that a jargon of words ſhould produce an Iliad, I cannot conceive. It is therefore plain, that he was not the author.

I have mentioned many of his miſtakes and miſconceptions; and the miſtakes of others, which he through ignorance adopted. It is with regret, that I am obliged to recur to thoſe inſtances of his want of knowledge in his

his Saxon and African poems: in the latter of which Cabo Lopez Gonſalvo is changed to the rock of Lupa and the cave of Lobar: the deſert of Zaira to the palaces of Zeira; and the river Tiber is made to run through Arabia. How is it poſſible for a perſon of ſo little experience to have attained to that ſtore of knowledge, to that abſtruſe and recondite hiſtory, with which theſe poems are fraught? Turgott and Rowley knew the perſons, of whom they treated; and the circumſtances, which they deſcribed. But Chatterton had not this knowledge. He lived at a great diſtance of time; and had neither experience, nor hiſtory, of theſe events, which he is ſuppoſed to commemorate. How could he poſſibly know the names of the Saxon Earls, which occur in the Battle of Haſtings; and which are not to be found in any hiſtorian? They are indeed authenticated by Doomſday-book. But did he ever hear of that book? or if he did, had he ever acceſs to it? We may be aſſured, that he never had. The names of Bertram, Normanne, and many others, were too far out of his reach to have been ever attained by him. The nature of this evidence is ſuch, as muſt ſet aſide all ſcruples and ſurmiſes: nor can it be affected by any of the popular ſtories of Chatterton, and his inventive faculty; nor

by the high and unwarrantable notions of his parts and genius. As I have before ſaid, let him have had every natural qualification, with which man can be bleſt; yet he was not gifted with inſpiration: and without that, he could not have arrived at the truths contained in Rowley. And let him have forged volumes; yet he never compoſed theſe poems; nor the manuſcripts, with which they are connected. It was impoſſible for him to have hit upon ſo many hiſtorical truths, without any hiſtory to direct him. How could he have any intelligence about the marriage deſigned for Canynge into the family of the Widevilles, concerning which there was no known hiſtory? Or of the cruel fine impoſed upon him for his refuſal, which was equally unknown? The ſame may be aſked concerning any perſon, who may be ſubſtituted, as the author, in the room of Rowley. Theſe evidences not only ſhew, who did not compoſe the poems; but point out, who did. They prove, that the intelligence came from Redcliffe Tower; and totally make void the notion of an imaginary third perſon. Rowley muſt have been appriſed of Canynge's marriage. He lived at the time; and was intereſted in the affair: and it was from him, that the hiſtory was tranſmitted. The whole

has ſince been very fortunately authenticated, as I have ſhewn. The very article of king Edward being at Briſtol in the year 1467 could hardly have been diſcovered by Chatterton; as it is, I believe, mentioned but by one hiſtorian. Indeed, he does not pretend to have known the year: nor is it any where ſpecified by Rowley. Yet it has been verified by means of the Worceſter regiſter: and every circumſtance about Canynge's ordination has been verified from thence. We have the like evidence about the burning of Redcliffe ſpire. Rowley muſt have been in ſome degree an eye-witneſs of the event: but Chatterton had no hiſtory of it; no record, excepting what muſt have come from Rowley. He could not have mentioned it without ſome previous intimation from that quarter: for no account was elſewhere to be had. This, like the two articles above, has ſince his death been atteſted, and by the ſame hand: by the teſtimony of William of Worceſtre. If the manuſcripts were forgeries by Chatterton, theſe hiſtories muſt have been his invention: but we have ſeen them paſt contradiction certified; which could not have been the caſe, if they had been forgeries. They therefore cannot have been the mere flights of a boyiſh imagination, but are genuine hiſtorical truths.

And as he uniformly ſaid, that he had them from Rowley, and as we cannot reaſonably conceive any other means, it is abſurd to aſcribe them to any other perſon. If all thoſe, who knew the young man, and have given their atteſtation to the antiquity of the poems, were to be warped in their principles, or to be found miſtaken, or were even to retract their evidence; yet it would avail nothing againſt theſe proofs. We may proceed upon the ſame principle in reſpect to the Temple church, which was ſaid to have been ſo badly conſtructed by the firſt builder, that it ſubſided, and bulged. But a better architect preſerved it, by laying a ſtronger baſis, founded on piles. If this account were a forgery by Chatterton, it could never have been by any means authenticated: but we find that it was * verified in the year 1774, about four years after his death.

* This evidence was obtained from ſome overſeers and workmen, who were employed in repairing the gates leading to the Temple church-yard. They had not ocular demonſtration of the piles, the water came in ſo faſt upon them: but in digging they came to the foundation abovementioned; which conſiſted of an enormous maſs of ſtone over a watery ſwamp. Now the greater the maſs, the more need there was for a ſecondary ſupport: and in ſuch a ſituation no other ſupport, but piles, can be well conceived. For this, and much other intelligence, I am indebted to Mr. George Catcott.

Theſe are events, for which Chatterton had no voucher, if we do not allow him Rowley. But even thoſe perſons, and thoſe events, which have collateral hiſtory for their confirmation, are often too obſcure to be eaſily met with; and could not come within the ſphere of a boy's intelligence. We have ſeen, that he makes a ſoldier, who was later than Hubba the Dane, contemporary with Hengiſt; and ſpeaks of an Inca's fleet upon the coaſt of Calabar. Can we imagine ſuch a novice to be an adept in the moſt remote, and ſecret parts of hiſtory? It cannot be ſuppoſed. How could he know any thing of the Blue Briton, and Tinyan? of Powisland, and Matraval; and the hiſtory of Howel ap Jevah? Add to theſe the numberleſs references and dark alluſions, which continually preſent themſelves to the reader in every part of Rowley.

Such is the evidence, with which theſe poems are attended. In the proceſs of my enquiry I have brought accumulated proof of the Mſſ. having been ſeen, and acknowledged as authentic. I have mentioned the manner of their being carried away and ſecreted: of their being afterwards copied; and of the perſon, who tranſcribed them, being ſeen in the article of tranſcribing: of their being uniformly attributed to the real

author, Rowley; concerning whom no doubts were ever entertained by the beſt judges, the people upon the ſpot, who were eye-witneſſes to the facts, upon which my evidence is founded. Not the leaſt ſuſpicion prevailed; till ſcruples and difficulties aroſe at a diſtance. This external evidence is neceſſarily blended with the internal: and through the whole courſe of my enquiry I have endeavoured to prove, that theſe compoſitions required far more learning, than fell to the lot of the young man at Briſtol. I have ſhewn, that he many times did not comprehend the purport of the lines, which he copied; and that he miſtook the very characters, in which they were deſcribed; ſo that he ſubſtituted one word for another. This alone, I think, falls little ſhort of demonſtration, that the poems were by another hand. On this account I muſt recur to the propoſition with which I ſet out, that every author muſt know his own meaning. And whoever brings a copy of a prior writing, and does not underſtand that writing, that perſon cannot be the author. In ſhort, if a boy produces a reputable exerciſe, and cannot conſtrue it, there is not an uſher at a boarding-ſchool, but will tell him, he did not make it.

AD ÆSTINGAM PUGNA.

DULCE ſolum, virtutum altrix, Brittannia mater,
Rite tuas laudes, tua munera carmine vates
Aggredior; tritas auſus contemnere metas,
Et dare vela rati. Quid enim prius, inclyta, verſu
Proſequar, Aonio tellus digniſſima plectro,
Quam tua, quæ latas implent præconia gentes,
Heroum fœcunda parens? At non mihi cuncta
Fas proferre palam; ſuperat quando omnia longe
Virtus clara virûm, et per terras didita fama.
Egregios tantum liceat memorare labores,
Et quid ab externis perpeſſa es viribus olim,
Heu, ſævis luctata malis. Te, Roma, duello
Improba tentavit primum, cum ignota jaceres,
Septa diu tenebris, deſertoque invia ponto.
Mox, ab Hyperboreis delatus ſedibus, arma
Intulit accitus, Cronii maris accola, Saxo;
Et diram expoſuit Rhutupino in littore pubem.
Ille Caledonias acies, Pictumque ferocem,
Ferre jugum docuit: vetitiſque excedere regnis
Juſſit; et in boream, nativaque frigora miſit.
At tandem in ſocios ferro converſus et igni,
(Proh, temerata fides!) peſtis crudelior ipſe
Incubuit terris, et pulſo immanior hoſte;
Subjectamque plagam vaſtavit perfidus armis.

Quis procerum infandas cædes, quis triſtia paſſim
Exilia, et famulæ neſcit ſuſpiria plebis?
Mox, ubi compoſitis rediit concordia rebus,
Vix bene ſeptenas paſſa eſt coaleſcere gentes
Saxonidum fortuna; novos cum infida tumultus
Concitat; ac terras iterum terit advena bello.
Quid referam Danorum acies, clademque nefandam,
Cimbrica cum primum tempeſtas appulit oris?
Ut gemuit dominos gens indignata ſuperbos,
Dentibus infrendens fruſtra; fruſtraque rebelli
Excutere affectans onus haud tractabile collo?
Sic jacet infelix Brittannia, percita multo
Vulnere, barbarico toties data præda furori.
Quod neque littoribus quæ circum plurima frendit
Unda, nec oppoſitæ poterant avertere cautes.
At non, arcano qui fœdere temperat orbem,
Dilectam tanto Deus in diſcrimine gentem
Deſerit. Ultor adeſt Morinis Gulielmus ab oris;
Et cito vindicibus ſternit vada falſa carinis,
Herouinque manu. Longum ſit ſancta per ævum
Illa dies, faſtis nunquam reticenda Britannis,
Cum vix hoſtiles noſtra in confinia turmas
Contulit; et juſto meruit certamine regnum.
Nunc age, crudeles motus, odia aſpera regum,
Eventuſque graves referam: totum ordine bellum,
Collatas acies, fœdamque in littore cladem,
Nunc aperire labor. Ventos in vota vocabat
Neuſtriadum detenta acies: quo tempore Haraldus,
Clarus avis, ataviſque potens, ſed crimine adeptus
Imperium, dubiâ Britonas ditione tenebat.
Magna viri virtus, ſpectataque dextera bello;
Sed mens fida parum: meritæ violentia famæ
Officit; et juſtas minuunt perjuria laudes.
Et licet haud alius magis in certamine notus,
Egregiuſque manu; quem contra opponeret armis,
Invenit fortuna parem. Jamque acer et ardens
Cogit uterque viros. Gulielmum Neuſtria tellus
Ediderat; clarum meritis, et ſtirpe ſuperbâ
Rollonidum:

Rollonidum : populus quem in regnum adſciverat ultro,
Plebeiâ de matre nothum. Satis una, ſuperque,
Nobilitas viſa eſt : quin conciliavit amorem
Ingenium, virtuſque, et miræ gratia formæ.
Illum adeo patriis accitum * Edoardus ab oris
Accipit, et gentis monſtrat decora alta Britannæ ;
Ingenteſque animos miratus, poſthuma ſpondet
Imperia, et ſceptris hæredem nuncupat ultro.
Nec tamen his obſtat Godoëni martia proles,
Jus patrium, et ſanguis licet intercedat avitus ;
Sed ſceptra et ſolium defert, regnumque futurum,
Sponte aras adhibens, ipſumque in fœdera Numen.
Vix tamen extincto juſta exequialia regi
Anglia perſolvit ; bello quando omnia turbat
Perfidus, et ſumptis regnum ſibi vindicat armis.
Continuo has fraudes cælo portenta ſequuntur,
Et vulgi attonitas terrent præſagia mentes.
Deficît in primo lampas Titania curſu,
Nec ſolita attingit faſtigia. Luna laborat ;
Fulguraque, et triſtes minitantur dira Cometæ.
Quodque animum regis turbat magis, ingruit oris
Improba Norvegiæ glaciali a littore claſſis.
Dumque hæret rerum confuſus imagine princeps,
Ancipitique malo ; vacuos ſine milite campos
Occupat, et flammis vaſtat late omnia prædo.
Ergo alium Angligenis curſum, quanquam impedit ingens
Implicitos propius belli mora, tendere ſuadet ;
Præceditque viros. Humbri jamque alta fluenta,
Longum iter emenſi, ſuperant, vicinaque raptim
Arva petunt : ſummiſque vident in ſaltibus hoſtem.
Nec mora, congreſſi longo in certamine pellunt ;
Et temere effuſos ipſa ad navalia pergunt
Proterere ; et rapidis cogunt dare lintea ventis.
Littore pacato ſua per veſtigia princeps
Caſtra petit victor, colleſque, ubi ſubſtitit hoſtis.
Norvegiæ hic proceres, ipſumque in pulvere regem

* Edvardus confeſſor, rex Anglorum.

Harvagrum

Harvagrum videt ; et fuſum ſine nomine vulgus ;
Et, tela in patriam qui ſuſtulit impia, Toſton.
Exuvias etiam ingentes, ſpolia ampla reportat,
Spiculaque, et clypeos, gentiſque inſignia torques.
Interea nox atra ſubit ; tenebræque reducunt
Maturam feſſis requiem : jamque avia ruris
Vaſta ſilent. Fuſus miles per caſtra ſopori
Indulget, belli ſatur, oblituſque laborum.
At manus inſomnis juvenum, pro more ſub armis,
Excubiis peragunt circum tentoria noctem.
Cum ſubito in ſpeculis, ſummiſque in montibus, ignes
Collucere procul cernunt : jamque altera tæda,
Alteraque oppoſitis dirimit juga diſſita flammis.
Agnoſcunt vigiles ſignum, trepidique tumultu
Regem adeunt, certoſque exponunt rite timores.
Excitus a ſomno, tumuli faſtigia princeps,
Unde oculis longe pateat plaga ſubdita, prendit :
Et frendens feritate, novus labor ingruit, inquit ;
Ad majora vocor : bellum hic denunciat ignis,
Externumque monet terras tetigiſſe tyrannum.
Heu, rerum jam certa fides ! Me Neuſtrius armis
Provocat abſentem, fineſque impune peragrat :
Verum adero, et, trepide repetat ſua littora, cogam.
Sic ait ; atque aciem primo vix mane refectam
Cogit, et inſtructo propere rapit agmine campum.
Tertia jam tenebras cælo dimoverat Eos,
Illuxitque dies ; coram cum nuncius adſtat
Spumanti prævectus equo ; remque ordine pandit,
Adveniſſe ducem, et portus tetigiſſe Pevanos.
Eſt locus, Auſtralis regio qua vergit in æquor,
Anderidæ propter ſaltus, lucoſque ſonantes,
Æſtinga : indigenæ ſic illum nomine dicunt.
Huc fato delatæ acies. Jam pectore in omni
Fervet martis amor. Pubes Normannica cœlo
Fundit rite preces ; et votis æthera complet.
Non ita Saxonidæ, et morti devota juventus.
Dum tenebræ campo prohibent concurrere, vertunt
Pocula, et inſano producunt tempora luſu ;

Multum

Multum execrantes noctem : quos nox tamen una
Longa manet, triſtiſque, nec interitura per ævum.
Poſtera cum ſparſit montana cacumina luce
Orta dies, aciem deſertis ducit Haraldus
Fervidus e caſtris, et ſpe feſtinat in hoſtem.
Ite, ait, egregii Juvenes ; ſociique laborum,
Quos avidè amplector ſumma in diſcrimina, nunquam
Expertus bello indecores : defendite laudes,
Et patrium ſervate decus. Me, me duce, tela
Corripite ; implicitos quos improbus advena bello
Sollicitat, proprio non auſus fidere marti.
Ite, agite, imbellem detrudite finibus hoſtem.
Sic ait, armatoſque jubet procedere campo
Saxonidas, Danoſque, et durum marte Britannum.
Illum adeo ex omni pubes regione ſecuta,
Flos virtuſque virûm cingit, quos priſtina tollit
Gloria ; et arctoö ſpectatum in littore robur.
Quin ſocii, et reditu raptim conſcripta juventus ;
Agreſtes animi, duriſque exercita proles.
Jure ſuo ante alios primam gens inclyta frontem
Cantiaca explicuit : meritis ſitus iſte locorum
Omnibus in bellis longo conceſſus ab ævo.
Hic firmi expectant hoſtem ; validiſque ſecurim
Ancipitem manibus ſæva inter prælia librant
Cominus, et duro turbant late agmina ferro.
Dextram aciem occiduæ fortis tenet incola terræ ;
Dammoniæ qui rura colunt : quos Ceſtria mittit ;
Cambriaque, et pelago tellus circumflua Monæ.
At procul in lævâ Boreæ de gente profecti ;
Qui Diræ ingentes ſaltus ; qui Mercia regna ;
Icenamque tenent : dulcis qui flumina Lindi,
Qui Thameſina bibunt : ſuperi quos alluit æſtu
Unda freti ; quoſque inferius mare limite claudit.
Stant alacres, fixique gradum ſtatione tuentur,
Formidanda acies. Complent media agmina Dani,
Sæva manus. Flavos poſſis dignoſcere crines,
Diſcordeſque ſonos vocum : pro tegmine geſtant
Loricam, conſertam hamis ; manibuſque coruſcant

Saxonidum

Saxonidum in morem falcatos cominus enſes;
Ferratamque rotant valido molimine clavam.
At parte adverſâ ſtabant juſto ordine turmæ
Neuſtriadum. Huc fortes ſubmiſit Gallia natos
Subſidio, Gulielme, tuo. Venere feroces
Armorici, Britonum, ut perhibent, animoſa propago;
Nunc patrum obliti penitus: mars omnia miſcet
Scilicet; atque odiis ſocialia fœdera ſolvit.
Nec non magnanimam miſit Burgundia prolem.
Lexovii venere truces: Sylvæ accola venit
Horridus Ardennæ Rhemus, nemora avia durus
Qui colit, et Batavus felix regnator aquarum.
Quin manus irriguis Sequanæ contermina ripis;
Qui Samaram, et modico properantem flumine Scaldim
Haurit; et oceanum ſolers tranſmittere Belga.
Ante alios longe coëunt, procera juventus,
Neuſtriadæ, atque arcus vaſto curvamine flectunt.
Quinetiam in ſtabili miles certamine clarus;
Ferratæque equitum, viſu mirabile, turmæ.
Æneus haud illis thorax ſatis eſſe videtur,
Loricæque uſus: coopertos circuit artus
Armatura chalybs, et ductu flexilis ambit.
Nulla manet pars nuda: pedes, ſuræque, manuſque,
Tecta latent: demptoque viro jam ſpirat imago
Ferrea: totum habilis circumdat lamina corpus.
Armat equos eadem; ferratâ fronte minantur:
Securoſque equites bellorum in turbine portant,
Spicula ridentes, et caſſas ſanguine plagas.
Ipſi non jaculis certant; celerive ſagittâ
Eminus incendunt pugnas: ingentibus inſtant
Enſibus, aut magno protrudunt agmina conto.
Interea oppoſitas dirimit parva area turmas
Amborum; et pugnæ rauco ter buccina cantu
Signa dedit: ſequitur ſublatus ad æthera clamor.
Preſſa gemit ſubter tellus: pulſuque ſonoro
Cornipidum concuſſa tremit. Nondum impius enſis
Vaginâ eripitur: ſtridet lethalis arundo,
Spiculaque hoſtilem guſtant præmiſſa cruorem.

Dumque

Dumque ea miſſilibus longe præludia tentant,
Atra ſubit nubes, et opaco pulvere terram
Denſa tegit: rupto tandem ſeu turbine, telis
Confligunt, propiuſque invadunt obvia ferro.
Hic Belgæ Morinique ruunt: hic imminet atrox
Armoricus. Tentant aciem perfringere, ſiquâ
Oſtendat fortuna viam; fruſtraque laborant
Explorare aditus. Labor undique triſtis, et omne
Telorum interea ſævit genus. Ingruit imber
Ferreus in campis, adverſaque verberat ora.
Sic Britones belli nubem, dum detonat, omnem
Suſtentant virtute diu. Jam Neuſtria turmas
Submittit, durique inſtaurant prælia Galli.
Hi laxi, ſparſique ruunt: ſed Neuſtria pubem
In denſos cogit cuneos; perque arma, per hoſtes,
Quærit iter; rapidis equitum comitantibus alis.
Necdum intus penetrare datur. Stat dura Britannûm
Inconcuſſa acies: ſtat nuſquam pervia bello.
Ter ſeſe objiciunt equites, totieſque repulſi
Nequicquam remeant, refluo velut æquor ab æſtu.
Continuo egregias Gulielmus pectore fraudes
Concipit: ipſe ſuos paulatim cedere campo
Edocet: ipſe celer laxatis fertur habenis,
Et dat terga fugæ, fictâ formidine, ductor.
Irrumpunt Britones, campum ut videre patentem,
Averſumque premunt hoſtem: quin inſtat Haraldus,
Telorumque ferox fugientes nube laceſſit.
Nec miſer inſidias ſentit, fictumque timorem,
Erroremve videt; donec nullo ordine fuſos
Accipiunt latebræ, fraudique accommoda vallis;
Et juga continuis includunt collibus agmen.
Tum rerum manifeſta fides. Stupet ipſe tyrannus,
Horreſcitque videns, quo ſe nimis impulit ardens
Impetus, et dubiæ fallax fiducia pugnæ.
Heu, nuſquam patet aufugium: latera ardua utrinque
Præmiſſi ſtipant equites, ſummiſque frequenter
Conſedere jugis: pedites a fronte minantur,
Converſique armis proturbant eminus hoſtem.

Atque

Atque ea Rollonidum cernens procedere princeps,
Ipſe aditus, quæ jam ſupereſt via ſola ſalutis,
Occupat, et fauces numeroſo milite complet.
Jamque enſis ſine more furit; lateque per artus
Irrevocandus abit: media in præcordia rumpit
Fervidus; exoritur, viſu miſerabile, cædes.
Neuſtriades exultat ovans; ultroque feroces
Incitat. Haud pugnâ, nec apertis cernitur armis;
Sed pecudum ritu jugulant. Furit irrita virtus,
Luctaturque aperire viam: non arma movendi
Luctanti locus eſt, ſtipataque membra teruntur.
Miſſile non curſum peragit ſine ſanguine: nulla
Spicula cæde vacant; nuſquam non certa ſagitta.
Nitentes alius ſupera ad faſtigia collis
Adverſo proſternit equo: colliſa fatiſcunt
Pectora: ſanguineo volvuntur corpora campo.
At non magnanimus timide ſuccumbit Haraldus,
Inclinatâ acie: fatiſque prementibus inſtat
Acrior, ut parili reparet diſpendia clade.
Circumſtat dilecta manus, regemque tuetur,
Dum fortuna ſinit. Quoquo ſe turbidus infert,
Agglomerant, parmiſque tegunt. Illum eminus horrent
Neuſtriadæ. Spectant oculos, vultumque minacem,
Nec ſufferre valent: ardent fera lumina flammis.
Ille ferox frendit, ſpatio concluſus iniquo,
Horrendumque fremit. Campum moriturus honeſtum
Expoſcit: dignamque aperit virtute palæſtram.
Quis cladem illius pugnæ, quis funera fando
Expediat; regiſve exæquet carmine laudes?
Ille volat, ferroque viam ſibi pandit eunti:
Dumque per oppoſitas acies ruit, arma viroſque
Semineces proculcat humi: tremefacta recedunt
Agmina, et oppoſitæ referunt veſtigia turmæ.
Nunc Batavum proturbat equo: nunc arduus enſe
Belgas terret agens. Forte adfuit inclytus armis
Rollonidum egregio Juvenis de ſanguine Perſes.
Dumque procul ſeſe princeps temerarius infert,
Incautuſque furit; ſubit ille, et poplite flexo,

Pectora

Pectora cornipedis longâ transverberat hastâ.
Corruit in vulnus sonipes; super ipse secutus,
Cernuus in terram rex volvitur. Ocyus hostes
Incursant jaculis, vastâque indagine claudunt.
Circumstant propere socii, regemque tumultu
Implicitum tellure levant. Fremit ille cruore
Terribilis, sævisque iterum sese ingerit hastis.
Proxima quæque metit gladio; lateque repente
Per campum via facta patet. Nemo audet adire
Cominus, aut tantas in se convertere vires.
Missilibus tantum certant, longisque sariss,
Deturbare virum. Multos reverentia tangit,
Debilitatque manus: spectant opera ardua regis
Attoniti, propiusque timent accedere telis.
Horrida majestas terret; truculentaque imago,
Et sonus, et species humano corpore major.
At non ipse diu patitur langueſcere corda:
Nulla mora est: iterum erumpit, ferroque lacessit
Agmina: sed sævis procedere longius iris
Haud fortuna sinit. Dumque instat fervidus ense,
Necdum animum explevit tumidum cruor; ecce, sagittam
Fortunata manus promit, nervoque reducto
Explicat. Illa abit, et celeri cava tempora lapsu
Trajicit, atque imo penitus sedet acta cerebro.
Corruit, et casu Godoëni martia eodem
Procumbit cum stirpe domus. Vis Anglica passim
Interit, et cæsum cingit vasto agmine regem.
Tristis ubique pavor. Pauci per devia ruris,
Quod supereſt, trepide fugiunt, et tuta capessunt,
Relliquiæ belli miseræ, quibus hasta pepercit.

ADDITIONAL

ADDITIONAL REMARKS.

P. 132. *HAPPIE manne be's dole!* I forgot to mention, that this expreſſion, however irregular it may appear, is to be found more than once in Shakeſpeare. The tranſcriber was in ſome degree acquainted with this writer; and by his authority, I imagine, he was led to alter the original reading to the prejudice of the verſe. What the true reading was may be known from the nature of the verſe; and alſo from the authority of Rowley himſelf, who makes uſe of it in another place.

He'll wynge to heavn wyth kynne, and happie bee hys dolle.

Epitaph upon Rob. Canynge, p. 278. l. 4.

P. 178. I have taken notice of ſeveral hiſtories concerning the landing of the Danes at Portlac, Watchet, and other places upon the weſtern coaſt of England; and of their being particularly oppoſed by the people of Somerſetſhire. Among other inroads, one is mentioned as happening about the year 918; when they were driven into a pearruc or incloſure after having been defeated at Watchet. I expreſſed my doubts, whether this could be the action which is recorded by Rowley. It is however certain, that there exiſts a manuſcript account from Turgott concerning this affair, of which I was not at that time appriſed. In this is mentioned, that Ælla was warden of Briſtol Caſtle about the year DCCCCXX: that the Danes then landed at Watchet: and that they were repulſed by Ælla, who in the engagement loſt his life. This account differs but little from that given in the Saxon chronicle: where the landing of the Danes at Portlac and Watchet in the reign of Edward the Elder,

is ſo particularly * ſpecified. If this be the tranſaction referred to by Rowley (and there is a wonderful coincidence of circumſtances) it is a full century earlier, than I have ſuppoſed it. As to the difference of two years, it is not conſiderable; and may have ariſen from an error in † tranſcribing: or the tranſactions, which are limited in the chronicle to a year, may have exceeded the term, to which they were referred. At all rates the hiſtory of the hero in the play ſeems to have been founded in truth, though varied and embelliſhed by the Poet's fancy. I thought proper to ſubmit this intelligence to the Reader; that he, may compare theſe evidences, and form his judgment accordingly.

P. 179. I have intimated, that probably Parks, ſuch as we have now, were not in uſe when Ælla is ſuppoſed to have flouriſhed. They were however more ancient, than is commonly imagined; and undoubtedly in vogue among the Saxons. For ſeveral exiſted at the coming of the Normans, and are ſpecified in Doomſday Book. There may therefore have been incloſures ſo called, and ſo conſtituted, for the reception of deer, even in the time of Ælla.

P. 256. I have expreſſed myſelf as if the ancient name of Durham, was rather Dunelm than Dunholm: but it was at times ſpecified by all three names: and the laſt Dunholm is that which is principally made uſe of by the Author of the Saxon Chronicle, as may be ſeen, p. 208, l. 33. 233, l. 6. 195, l. 35: alſo in other places. Durham or Dirham, for ſo it was of old called, ſignifies the habitation of the Diræ, and related properly to the county. Dun-holm ſignifies Collis-Sylveſtris, Nemoroſus: a hill with woods. Dun-Elm, Collis Ulmorum, ſive mons Ulmetum; i. e. Elm-Hill. Theſe two laſt appellations related ſolely to the place, or city.

P. 105. † DCCCCXX for DCCCCXIIX.

P. 287.

P. 287. In ſpeaking of Dynefare, by the Welch expreſſed Dynevour, I have omitted to mention, that the ruins of this very ancient caſtle, and palace, ſtill remain: and are ſituated in the eſtate of the late honourable George Rice. He was deſcended from the princes of South Wales: and Dynevour affords a title which is entailed upon the lady of the above gentleman, and upon her ſon after her, and which is to take place upon the death of her father the Right Honourable Earl Talbot.

P. 370. I have ſhewn how widely ſcattered the names of the Norman nobility appear to be, who are mentioned in the battle of Haſtings. However we may find authorities for moſt of them, though they are not without much difficulty to be procured. The Sieur de Bonnoboe occurs in none of the liſts, excepting in that of William Tayleur, as quoted by Holinſhed: where I imagine it to be the ſame, which is expreſſed Bonnobault. But that there was ſuch a Norman name, is more fully ſhewn from a perſon called Boneſboz, who held lands under Henry the Second, as Duke of Normandy, at Bayeux. This may be ſeen in Dr. Ducarel's *Anglo-Norman Antiquities conſidered*; and the circumſtance is taken from the Red Book of the Exchequer, the title of which is this: NORMANNIA. Infeudaciones Militum, qui debent ſervitia militaria Duci Normanniæ, &c. The third Knight mentioned under the article De Baiocaſino, is, *Robtus de Boneboz 1 mil. regi de 3 m. quos habet in Algur.* This was communicated to me by my friend Dr. Barford: of whoſe friendſhip I have had occaſion to make mention more than once.

P. 400. I forgot to intimate, that there is a ſmaller Doomſday Book; to which I had not opportunity of applying. It conſiſts of 450 pages on vellum: and contains an account of three counties, omitted in the larger book: viz. Norfolk, Suffolk, and Eſſex.

ERRATA, PART SECOND.

Page 307,	l. 3,	*for* Warwilenſem —	*read* Warwicenſem.
	l. 13,	— Hieroſolymitarum —	— Hieroſolymitanorum.
317,	l. 5,	— Herthiſbiriom	— Hertheſbiriam.
337,	l. 18,	— the ſame county	— Dorſetſhire.
339,	l. 15.	— Glouſtriæ —	— Gloceſtriæ.
341,	l. 3,	— eam —	— eum.
351,	l. 4,	— vi. 74 —	— vii. 88.
351,	l. 10,	— viii. —	— vi.
368,	l. 1,	— Bartrammel —	— Bertramil.
377,	l. 27,	— hadam —	— hidam.
378,	l. 1,	— Sumerſetſhire —	— Somerſetſhire.
383,	l. 7,	— Summerſetſhire	— Somerſetſhire.
384,	l. 7,	— 213 —	— 214.
387,	l. 22,	— Gloceſterchire —	— Glouceſterſhire.
390,	l. 9,	— Euuardi —	— Eduuardi.
395,	l. 11,	— or Barons, *dele.*	
479,	l. 4,	— breathing —	— living.

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